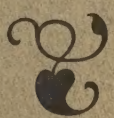
DIVAGATIONS ON THE BEATUS

BY

GEORGIANNA GODDARD KING



REPRINTED FROM ART STUDIES: 1930

ND
3199
K56
1930
GTU
Storage
SIZE 2

To Kenyon L. Butterfield

To Kirsopp Lake

homage from the author

1932

DIVAGATIONS ON THE BEATUS

Georgiana Goddard King

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION
LIBRARY
1962

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL
of the
PACIFIC
LIBRARY

ND
3199
K56
1930

A
AJ80
K52

DIVAGATIONS ON THE BEATUS[1]

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

I

As painting, the manuscripts of Beatus' *Commentaries on the Apocalypse* offer tempting material for study. The number is limited, only about twenty-four being known to be extant. The region whence they came is restricted; only one, so far as known, having been written outside the Peninsula, and that by a Spaniard for a Spanish abbot. The chronology offers few problems, a good number being signed and dated; and other dated manuscripts exist contemporary in style and script. For a Hispanist it is no small advantage to possess incontrovertible dates, and furthermore to have them confirmed at every turn by palaeography, which is allowed to rank as a semi-exact science. Lastly, the style of the manuscripts is singularly homogeneous, yet with differences that resolve them into three main groups with some outliers, and with a marked and characteristic development.

The intention of this paper is to ignore for the nonce all questions of palaeography and what is properly archaeology, and to consider the miniatures as one might consider, say, some Sienese altarpieces just discovered in a hitherto-unvisited church on Monte Amiata. In the end it should be possible to draw some conclusions about the Spanish temper as it finds its occasion in the painter's art.

Beatus of Liébana wrote his *Commentaries* about the year 776. Afterwards he entered into controversy over the Adoptionist heresy, being reckoned in this subject the master of the great Alcuin. Through the centuries he was remembered more as the defender of orthodoxy than as the interpreter of the Apocalypse. Latterly the *Mappae Mundi* which appear in the illuminated codices of his Apocalypse have been studied as a subject apart by geographers; with them we have little to do.

He was born about 730, and he presumably took the name of Beatus when he took the habit of religion, in the region of Liébana and probably at the monastery of San Martín,[2] near the town of Potes. He was priest as well as

[1] I must express thanks at the outset to the Morgan Library and Miss Belle Da Costa Greene for free and frequent access to precious manuscripts; to my friend Dr. Walter W. S. Cook of New York University, who is publishing the Morgan Beatus MSS., for encouragement and the use of his photographs; to Mr. Albert Greenfield of Philadelphia for the gift of the color plates; and to my dear friends at the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid and Señor Domínguez Bordona of the Biblioteca Nacional for help in securing the color photographs, with regret at not having earlier seen his *Catálogo de la Exposición de Códices miniados*.

[2] Called now Santo Toribio: cf. B. Martín Mínguez, *De la Cantabria* (Madrid, 1914), pp. 106–112. For his life see P. Risco, *España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1747–1849), XXXIV, 378–389. For the Adoptionist controversy and the political setting see C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and His Work*, London, 1904.

34970

monk, and he came to be abbot, there or elsewhere. There he composed the *Commentaries*, dedicating the work to his companion and pupil, Etherius, who was residing in the Asturias as Bishop of Osma *in partibus*; and for the King Mauregatus he wrote the Mozarabic Hymn [1] of St. James, *O Dei Verbum Patris ore proditum*. By 784 there was trouble about the precise relation to God of the Man Christ Jesus, Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo sustaining an opinion which they said the Spanish church had always admitted, and citing in confirmation the Mozarabic Breviary.[2] Both Beatus and Etherius seem to have talked and written about the matter, and when in the autumn of 785 they went up to Oviedo for an important ceremony, they stayed with a certain Abbot Fidel, who showed them a violent letter from the Toledan archbishop, that threw back upon themselves the charge of heresy. The occasion of the meeting was the widowed Queen Adosinda's taking the veil;[3] everyone of importance was gathered at the capital, and everyone was ready to tell the two from Liébana that Elipandus was calling them illiterate, and disciples of Antichrist. So began the pamphleteering that was to outlast the century: Felix of Urgel appealed to the emperor, who was Charlemagne; and up to the Council of Frankfort, in 794, went bishops of Britain, Germany, Gaul, and Aquitania, Peter of Milan and Paul of Aquileia, Alcuin from Tours and some from Spain. What a showing there must have been there on the Main of pre-Carolingian art, in textiles and embroideries, in jewellery and enamels, book-covers and illuminations, and all that the northern world could supply! Beatus did not go, and in 798 he died.

After a while his name died away in Liébana. The abbey came to be called Santo Toribio instead of San Martín, and in 1183 was incorporated with the powerful monastery of Oña in the Burgalese. It remained a pilgrimage place, for which in the thirteenth century the Bishop of Palencia had given special indulgences and in the sixteenth such popes as Julius II and Leo X had sustained the privileges, but these concerned a mythical bishop and a relic of Holy Cross. The last of the manuscripts were carried off to what is now the Archivo Histórico Nacional [4] in Madrid, where the Tábara manuscript now lies.[5] Mínguez [6] has published an inventory of Santo Toribio taken in August of 1316, in which among all the Sunday books and Saints' day books (*do-*

[1] Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Origen de los himnos mozárabes*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXVIII (1926), 125–127.

[2] Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (Paris, 1912), pp. xxix–xxxii.

[3] He is said to have been the "Governor" of Queen Adosinda and it is barely possible the *Commentaries* were first made for her, text and miniature; Mauregatus, whose name appears as an acrostic in the Hymn of St. James, was her half-brother.

[4] R. Amador de los Ríos, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Santander*, pp. 830, 832. Cf. José María Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables* (Madrid, 1859), pp. xxvii–xxxii. Morales in 1572 had reported "no books there": Ambrosio de Morales, *Viaje* (Madrid, 1765), p. 59.

[5] Cf., however, M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), p. 209, note.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 128. Cf. also J. Ruiz Serra, who makes it 1310; *Subsidios para la historia de nuestra cultura*, in *Archivo español de Arte y Arqueología* (1929), p. 248.

mingales and *santorales*) along with a psalter, a book of tables and forecasting, San Isidoro, and hymns and legends of Santo Toribio, we find: "Item, a book in Toledan script, of sermons,[1] in the studio." There was no name on the manuscript [2] and no memory in the place.

There is, however, another chapter in his *légende*, which was set down by the Bishop of León, D. Francisco Trujillo, who died in 1592: namely, that in the village church of Valcavado, near Saldaña, which showed traces of having once been monastic, was interred the saintly monk Beatus who had lived there. His arm was preserved as a relic in the church and his body was buried there along with those of other holy men, for which reason burials in the church were forbidden. The church had possessed also a manuscript written in Gothic letter with illuminations of the histories of the Apocalypse; after more than six hundred years of possession the Archdean of Valderas carried it off to examine. So far the Bishop.[3] It is now in the Museum Library of Valladolid. Yepes, writing not much later, and probably not knowing the *Historia* of Trujillo, which to this day remains unprinted, is quite explicit: "The body of St. Beatus, companion of St. Etherius."[4] An Abbot of Valcavado called D. Gonzalo was visiting Liébana in 1036, presumably on San Beato's account.[5]

Beatus was also, though wrongly, believed to have been Bishop of Osma, not so much through confusion with Etherius, as because the forger Juan Pérez interpolated a Toledan Council of the year 796 at which Beatus figured as Bishop of Osma.[6]

II

Some twenty-four manuscripts are known to be in existence with fragments of three more, and most of the rest named by the scholars Morales or Flórez, or the bibliophiles Antonio and Delisle, can be conjecturally identified with some of these. The earliest is one in the Escorial, perhaps of the ninth century; the earliest dated is a Morgan manuscript (No. 644), read as 926; the

[1] *Sermo*, homily read after the Gospel. Férotin, *op. cit.*, p. xli.

[2] Cf. G. Antolín, *Un Códice Visigodo*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, LXX, 617. No Beatus MSS. have the author's name.

[3] *España Sagrada*, XXXIV, 388 sq. Cf. Mínguez, *op. cit.*, p. 122, note: "When in the XVI century was profaned the famous sepulchre of Oveco in Valcavado in which was found a copy of the Apocalypse commentated by S. Beato, the Patron was Dr. Flórez of Carrión, who addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities a protest against the hardihood of the *Cura* who threw out the remains that were in the tomb and put a recent corpse there. The documents are preserved." This is not impossible to reconcile with Bishop Trujillo's account, but it does invalidate the Oveco argument of Blázquez, *Los Manuscritos de los Comentarios al Apocalipsis de San Juan por San Beato de Liébana*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, X (1906), 258. Cf. also Flórez, in the preface to his edition of the *Commentaries: Sancti Beati presbyteri hispani Liebanensis in Apocalipsin ac plurimas foederis paginas commentaria* (Madrid, 1770), pp. v–vii.

[4] "Valcauado, aunque no me consta que aya sido Monasterio rico, y poderoso, pero fue muy calificado en tierra de Saldaña, y autorizado con el cuerpo de san Beato, compañero de san Etereo." A. de Yepes, *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito* (Madrid, 1617), VI, 85.

[5] Mínguez, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[6] *España Sagrada*, VII, 295 sq.

latest dated is that in the Vatican, 1552. A chronological list will be found on p. 56. From this it appears that with miniatures we have possibly none of the ninth,[1] but eight of the tenth, four of the eleventh, nine of the twelfth, and two of the thirteenth century. There is also one in the library of the King of Spain, which has no miniatures, it is said, though it need not be left quite out of count, one in the Escorial, lacking illuminations, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the Vatican codex, some tables bound up with the copy of Facundo, and three loose leaves from lost manuscripts, lately discovered at Silos.

As for provenance, we know with certainty where five were written, but they seem to represent the outlying termini of divergent lines. Considering the manuscripts geographically, one early group can be securely placed within the ancient diocese of Palencia, or adjacent, in that of Astorga, in León and Zamora; they must be called Leonese. With them account must be taken of the works of one Florentius who flourished from 943 to 970 in the same region, at the monastery of Baleránica, situate on a confluent of the Pisuerga, who also exercised an influence at the scriptorium of San Millán. The close correspondence of these Leonese manuscripts which follow one another in chronology over a space of three hundred years, amounts very nearly to proof that the *Urhandschrift* from Beatus' own hand supplied the model.

First, as most important, should be named the Valcavado group: it begins with the Ashburnham–Morgan manuscript signed by Maius and dated 926;[2] next comes one from Tábara which Maius began in 968, but as he died before its completion, it was finished in 970 by his disciple Emeterius, who had also a hand in the manuscript of 975, now at Gerona, though other parts of that are quite unlike.[3] The Valladolid copy, which Oveco made for the Abbot Sempronius at Valcavado, is dated 970 likewise; one would like to know what starry influences rained on earth that year! In 1047 Facundo copied Oveco directly or at second hand for Ferdinand the Great and the Queen Doña Sancha, as is traditionally held; if so, it is almost the only case of secular use.[4] This, the most beautiful of all the examples, which belonged to San Isidoro of

[1] For the ninth century Dom Ramsay claims the Ashburnham–Morgan, and the late P. Antolín the *Emilianensis* in the Escorial.

[2] Dom Ramsay reads the date within the ninth century: *The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Beatus de Liébana on the Apocalypse*, in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, I (1902), 9. Cf., however, M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 131, note 2.

[3] There can be but one Emeterius; he uses both times the same odd phrase about bringing his work to port, and depicts the same palace-façade of five bays filled with plant-forms, that recalls on the one hand Ctesiphon and Hatra, both standing near Bagdad, and on the other the Moslem decoration of the gate-house at Rabbath-Ammon. Is it needful to say that in 970 both Mesopotamia and Syria were more accessible and more familiar to a Spaniard than in 1870?

[4] There is, however, the alleged composition for Queen Adosinda, which I should be inclined to consider in the same category as the lost MS. of La Espina and the copy that Egas made for a Portuguese princess-abbess at Lorvão, i. e. intended for monastic use. On the MS. of Oveco, at Valladolid, a note records its possession, once, by "me, Ferdinand, King of Castile," just as one of the Salamanca MSS. belongs to his Majesty D. Alfonso XIII

León and then to the Marquis of Mondéjar, is now at rest in the Biblioteca Nacional. That at La Seo de Urgel has been dated by Pere Pujol as early as 1040 [1] and identified as Castilian script, that is, not Catalan; it is either a direct copy after Facundo or taken from Facundo's source,[2] which in that case cannot be Oveco but a copy thereof; it is neither signed nor dated, though not apparently mutilated. In any event the Urgel copy is simplified in places and the inexpert and hurried fingers have not failed to hurt.

Another group proceeds more or less directly from the venerable abbey of San Millán, that lies between Castile and Aragon in the Ebro basin. It shows at the outset a close affinity with the two great Escorial codices, the *Vigilanus* from Albelda near by, where the most beautiful Visigothic script was written, and the *Emilianensis*. It comprises one at the Escorial of the ninth or tenth century, one at the Academia de la Historia of the tenth and twelfth, and that now at Burgo de Osma, dated 1086. The leaves surviving from two lost manuscripts of Beatus which were lately discovered at Silos fall into this category, for in the eighteenth century they were brought to Silos by Padre Ibaretta from Nájera in the Rioja. The first [3] was certainly at the royal abbey in the sixteenth century; it bears the memorandum of an eleventh-century privilege affecting Cirueña, a village near Santo Domingo de la Calzada but dependent on Nájera in respect of the parish church. The other three, which came from a different manuscript, have been assigned to the same century (the tenth) by the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos. This enlarges a little the *Gebiet* of the Emilian scriptorium in the matter of miniature, so that it now includes not only Albelda in the mountains but Nájera on the plain. Apart, but nearer to San Millán than to the rest, stands the tenth-century manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional called No. 11 in the Catalogue of the 1924 Exhibition. With it have been associated, on textual grounds,[4] the Corsini Beatus, which has suffered much but was never beautiful, and the one at Berlin. Of the characteristic miniature style of San Millán they show little.

San Millán, lying much out of the way, enjoyed in those days a security almost unparalleled; "neither Goths disturbed nor heretics molested nor Moors destroyed nor Christians ever lost respect." Eguren,[5] who quotes this

[1] *El Codex de l'Apocalipsi de Beatus*, in *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1917), pp. 15–17. P. Garcia Villada assigned this to the tenth century; *Paleografía Española* (Madrid, 1923), p. 125.

[2] This suggestion is confirmed by Señor Domínguez Bordona's observation that five folios from an earlier copy are bound up with the manuscript of Facundo; they have no pictures; the colors of the decorative designs are vermillion and ochre; the script is like tenth-century examples. *Fragmentas de un Beato*, in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, II (1926), 162.

[3] Cf. W. M. Whitehill, Jr., *A Beatus Fragment at Santo Domingo de Silos*, in *Speculum*, IV (1929), 102–105, 496, Pls. I, II. I have to thank him for further information in a private letter.

[4] For this I am indebted to Professor Henry A. Sanders, now head of the American School in Rome, and to Dom Ramsay of Downside Abbey.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. xix sqq. Cf. Fray Prudencio Sandoval, *Primera Parte de los Monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito*, Madrid, 1661.

pleasant picture from Yepes, remarks bitterly on the loss of mediaeval manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through sheer ignorance, indifference, and neglect. That age was rich and self-sufficient. Morales had, however, at the end of the sixteenth, taken an interest in the Beatus, suggested that the Escorial should secure several copies, and recommended it for printing; and in the eighteenth Flórez did publish, in 1770, a text from three manuscripts, two lent by the Abbess of Las Huelgas, one then still at San Millán.

The copy at Gerona was written among the mountains of León [1] for an Abbot Dominic by a priest called Senior, who may have had a hand in the painting; by the Emeterius already named, who certainly has a portrait in the tower of Tábara; and by a woman called Ende who entitles herself God's Helper [2] after a fashion of the time. With her work or that of Senior we have to connect some of the twelfth-century pages of the Apocalypse from San Millán and the codex at Turin.[3] In this same tradition figure the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, signed by one Stephanus Garsea, and copied for the Abbot Gregory Muntaner [4] after the middle of the eleventh century, and that of Silos, though the local styles respectively of Aquitaine and Santo Domingo do much to modify and alter. A separable but derivative group is constituted, first, by a great pair, the Rylands manuscript and that from Las Huelgas which Flórez called *Burgensis* and which is now in the Morgan Library (MS. 429), dated 1220; their precise relation to the ruined codex in the Museo Arqueológico and that from San Andrés de Arroyo which Flórez used, now in Paris, is not easy to make out, while yet the filiation stares one in the face. Not much can be done till the Morgan manuscript is published. There is an anomalous Romanesque manuscript in Paris associated with Roncesvalles which cannot be dissociated from the *Burgensis* group. Lastly, the work of Egas, at Lisbon, touches these at many points, but remains, being Cistercian, a thing apart.

It is curious how many of those manuscripts which we possess have some association with the author. At Osma they believed that he had filled the see.

[1] "In the diocese of Astorga," "in the northwest of Spain," said Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Apuntos bibliográficos y noticias de los manuscritos, impresos, y diplomas de la exposición universal de Barcelona, 1889*, in *Conferencias públicas* (Barcelona, 1889), pp. 471–509. Villanueva wrote, also, "Creo que el códice se escribió en lo interior de España"; he engraved the principal lines of the colophon: *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1803–54), XII, 118–119.

[2] *Deo adjutrix:* cf. Mínguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 122. *Nonnita, deo vocata*, who in 832 wrote a document besides witnessing it, was a friend of Etherius, the friend of Beatus who long survived his master up there in Liébana; the Countess Fafila in 1030 calling herself "Christ's handmaiden" was probably not a nun, but anticipating the Third Order of St. Francis in some sense. Cf. "Adosinda, Christ's handmaiden, 1019," Eguren, *op. cit.*, p. xc. Sandoval, *Fundaciones*, fol. 82 v. has an account of Doña Elo Vélez receiving the habit from the Abbot of San Millán in 1102, and of this custom of noble ladies who called themselves *deo vota*.

[3] Professor Sanders, in a private letter, kindly communicated to me, emphasizes the close connection textually between Tábara, Gerona, and Turin, confirming the judgment here based on minature style.

[4] Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 265, pointing out that if Gregory died in 1072 he was too young to be abbot so early as 1028, allows for the date 1047–72.

At Valcavado they believed that his relics were yet enshrined there, and their devotion would radiate through all the Palencia region, among the nuns, from San Andrés de Arroyo to La Espina, and in courts and capitals. Oviedo, where Morales examined a manuscript, was the scene of an episode in his career; at La Seo de Urgel they had such interest in the adversary of a bishop of their own that there are indications they sent an emissary into the kingdom of León to secure a transcript for them. To Celanova in remote Galicia the fragment which Morales saw was probably brought by San Rosendo, for he was of Asturian stock.

The question that we face, of course, at this point is whether our two-dozen manuscripts in hand[1] represent but the poor survival of unestimated treasures that were lost and tattered and wasted. Certainly they were not appreciated: the late Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum has no good words for them. But in the early inventories of church treasures and pious foundations the name *Apocalypse* occurs so seldom that Gómez-Moreno suggests the work was chiefly popular with the laity. It seems, however, to have been copied for abbots and nuns.

True it is that in reckoning of the early Middle Age, if the book is not Scriptural and the patronage not imperial, twenty to thirty codices may be estimated good salvage. Spain was still what we should account a devastated area. They constituted, these limners who copied Breviaries and Bibles and Antiphonaries, the Morals of Gregory and the Homilies of Smaragdus and Cassiodorus on the Psalms, a living school. Maius and Emeterius, Oveco and Martín, Florentius and Facundus, Ende *pintrix*, Leodegundia poetess,[2] and all the rest who fill up the long list of names, were, when you come to think of it, amazing. They existed and labored in a conscious tradition of excellence.

It is an axiom that the whole northern world walked in terror of the year 1000, and a corollary that the Apocalypse made congenial reading. It is a fact that the immigration of non-Aryans and the break-up of empires made a peculiarly horrible *milieu* at this time, but it is notorious that the Spaniards were too busy with Almansor to consider any other Antichrist. The importance of the *Commentaries* and then their sudden disuse is probably to be explained otherwise: they seem to have been involved in the history of the Mozarabic Rite.

Canon XVII of the Fourth Toledan Council required that, as of old, throughout the Visigothic realm during the Paschal season the Apocalypse should be read and explained. Revelation i–iii was read in the seven days between

[1] The roll-call of known MSS. in existence or lost amounts to 38, and will be found on pp. 56–57.

[2] There seem to have been plenty of trained scribes like Ende and Leodegundia. In the matter of educated women, Moslems and Mozárabes, see Julián Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), I, 192, 197–200, 344 sqq.

Easter and the eve of Low Sunday, and on the following day, *Dominica in Albis*, Revelation v was read and applied to the mystery of the Eucharist as celebrated in the Mozarabic liturgy. Two eminent scholars, Dom Férotin and the learned and lamented P. Fita, certainly believed that the *Commentaries* of Apringius were used for instruction,[1] and as examples of Apringius were so rare already as early as the seventh century that San Braulio of Zaragoza tried in vain to borrow one from Toledo,[2] under guarantees, to have it copied, and as on the other hand various manuscripts of Beatus have been labelled and catalogued as Apringius [3] while on no known codex does Beatus' own name appear, there is every reason to suppose that the *Commentaries* of Beatus served equally, and the abbots for whom they were copied intended them for such a use. In the eleventh century they were superb, perhaps prepared expressly against the evil day foreseen. But with the eleventh century the Mozarabic Rite came to an end, except in certain parishes of Toledo and in certain privileged monasteries.

We all know how Rome was determined to abolish the Mozarabic Rite no less than the Ambrosian, and how the Cardinal-Legate Hugh and Richard from St.-Victor of Marseilles were successful in Aragon by 1064, and in Castile the French Bishop Bernard and the French Queen Constance worked for a like result. In Toledo the whole people rose and said they had rather die, but at the Council of León in 1091, where Pope Urban's legate presided, the thing was done. Archbishop Roderick tells the whole story admirably, and records that when the ordeal of battle was tried the Toledan champion was a noble of the house of Meanza near Pisuerga, that is, from the Valcavado region. He won the day, just as the great Mozarabic Breviary triumphed in the ordeal of fire, but the Queen had her way with Alfonso VI, and only the six Mozarabic Toledan parishes were explicitly exempted.

In those anxious years was painted the Osma manuscript (1086), not, as I think, at Toledo, though the map bears a representation of the primatial city; and the one at Silos, which is dated continuously 1073–1091 with a postscript to the effect that Peter the Prior finished his work in 1109. The phrase is important, for no other prior was a painter.[4] One copy was painted for a

[1] Fita, *Patrologia Latina*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XLI (1902), 353 sqq.; the important passages are found on pp. 360, 361. Férotin, *Apringius de Béja*, preface, p. xix, note: see Appendix, Note I.

[2] The little convent of San Pedro de Montes had one, however, bequeathed by San Genadio (Sandoval, *Fundaciones*, fol. 30); so had Silos, and the manuscript is now in Paris, as P. Pérez de Urbel informs me. Dom Férotin knew it (*Apringius de Beja*, p. xv, note) but mistrusted its accuracy.

[3] Antolín, *op. et loc. cit.*; Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27. Merino, writing the preface to the Gerona volumes of *España Sagrada* in 1819 (XLIII, xv; XLV, 12, 13) for the same reason believed it to be the *Commentary* of Victorinus.

[4] Marius Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 264–269. The coincidence of two Peters, both exceptional, is odd. Checking up in C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica*, in *Transactions of Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIV (1920), 1–248, which records two hundred and thirteen "Visigothic" manuscripts, ranging in date from before 732 till 1160–75 (though unluckily the full commentary on ninety of these was never published

king's sister, Doña Urraca, to give to San Pedro de Eslonza in 1099; it is almost certainly lost. The great Infanta, she of the siege of Zamora seventeen years before, gave eleven codices, one of them set down as *Apochalipsim*,[1] and the painting in this region would be of the Valcavado type; but not so many years later her grandniece Sancha, the sister of Alfonso VII, turned over the abbey[2] to Peter the Venerable and the monks of Cluny, who would have no interest in it unless a destructive one.[3] The princess Doña Sancha, however, founding La Espina [4] in the very heart of the Campos de los Godos in 1147, under the peculiar protection of St. Bernard, knew how to make her terms, for there at the abbey in 1572 Morales saw a copy of the Apocalypse of Beatus. Perhaps it looked like the one now in Lisbon copied by an Arab, the son of an Arab, in a comically laborious imitation of the white Cistercian figures. But the Cistercian nunnery of Lorvão, in which Egas was working, had been Benedictine before, being indeed a foundation of the same Doña Muniadona who had founded the sister convent of Guimarães and bequeathed thereto an Apocalypse in 959 that probably was of the lost Asturian type.

The Cistercian nuns of San Andrés de Arroyo [5] in the Palencia region had for foundress and first abbess a great lady, the king's kinswoman, and next after, her niece, until the thirteenth century was well advanced; nothing stood in the way of their securing a very beautiful copy painted in the new Gothic manner.[6] Now, though the codex of her own which the Abbess of Las Huelgas lent to Flórez for his printing may have had, as has been believed, some connection with Toledo, and more, as appears on examination, with the Moslem East, yet in the year 1220 the text of it was copied from the manuscript of Tábara, and it reproduced, along with the colophon and a self-satisfied postscript thereto,[7] the tower of Tábara, then already old, and the

and might, in supplying new instances, raise the average), I find that in about forty-six manuscripts that have some name by way of signature, only two men are above the rank of simple presbyter. There are three women, three notaries (one at least is a priest and probably all), one monk, one *famulus Dei*, who may be a lay brother or may be secular, fifteen unspecified, six deacons, twenty-two priests, and two abbots; one of these was the Lord Abbot Peter (of San Millán?), 1073, but he did not write the note; the other, called Elenus, was the Mozarabic abbot of Santa Eulalia in Toledo in the ninth century; the books copied by both of these demanded extra care and learning, for one was passages out of Scripture, a *Liber Comes*, and the other was a Sacramentary. It would be easy to enlarge the list of names.

[1] Eguren, *op. cit.*, p. xc.

[2] José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, León*, p. 552.

[3] Morales, *Viaje*, p. 39, reported, when he visited San Pedro de Eslonza in 1572, that the Benedictines "a few years ago wanted to dissolve the monastery and turn over the rents to the College of Salamanca. This the City of León opposed, claiming it as a royal endowment; nothing came of it. . . . It has been done now." This accounts for one of the two Salmantine MSS. in our list.

[4] José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Valladolid*, pp. 268–269. Cf. Francisco Antón, *Monasterios Medievales de la Provincia de Valladolid* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 78–116.

[5] Angel Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, has little to say about San Andrés, but the facts are fairly plain.

[6] For a sample, see the page reproduced by W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, IV*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII (1926), Fig. 15.

[7] Translated in *The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse from the Codex Laudianus . . . together with the Apocalypse Text of Beatus from the Tenth century [sic.] Manuscript in the Morgan Library, New York. . . .* E. S. Buchanan (London, 1916).

little patient monkish figures who had sat writing there for two centuries and a half. [1]

Latest of all, the work was done once more in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century; not in Toledo where the powerful Cardinal Cisneros, protecting the Mozarabic Rite, printed his *Missale Mixtum*, but somewhere near the Duero very likely. As far back as 1409 a Bishop of Segovia, Juan Vázquez de Cepeda, bought land at Aniago (near Medina del Campo) to found a hospice of Mozarabic chaplains, clergy living under a collegiate rule. In 1436 he made over the deeds to the "monastery of Mozarabes." This seems to have been at the very close of his life, for within five years he transferred it to the Queen Doña Juana, on the understanding that if they could not go on she was to found the monastery most convenient. On October 8, 1441, the Portuguese woman put in Carthusians.[2] There, however, lies buried the bishop, and in Morales' day there were no books left. The Escorial codex, if copied for the Bishop of Segovia, cannot be the one that Flórez saw in the College of San Bartolomé at Salamanca, for he judged that to be of the twelfth century. As the King's codex came from the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca,[3] there were once at least two twelfth-century copies in Salamanca. The Salmantine manuscripts therefore testify to that Mozarabic nucleus still persisting at Salamanca which led the Cardinal Talavera in 1517 to establish and endow the Mozarabic chapel in the cloister of the Old Cathedral.

And indeed the Escorial codex has a note [4] about submitting it to a Salamanca professor for his opinion or approval, as though there were some thought of making a copy for the Talavera foundation. But the hour had struck; there are no later miniatures than these.[5]

The odd thing is that we have not a single Asturian manuscript among them all. In respect of that which Morales saw at Oviedo, we must accept Dom Ramsay's ingenious identification of it[6] with one in the Escorial, which nevertheless by certain morphological traits belongs to the scriptorium of San Millán. On the other hand an Oviedo codex called *Libro de los Testa-*

[1] Antolín, *op. et loc. cit.*: Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Presumably it was after the loan of this manuscript to Burgos that, never getting home again (as happened later to that of Valcavado), it turned up finally at the early home of the author, in Liébana.

[2] Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Valladolid*, p. 234.

[3] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[4] On the last leaf you read: "This book is to be delivered in Salamanca to the very reverend Father Master Mancio, for him to look at it and send word what he thinks about it. Marmol?" Antolín, *Primera edición de un códice de la época visigoda*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, LIII, 1900, 26. The cryptic close does not hint at an intention to copy a miniature for a funeral tablet, but puts down the name of a learned friend of Morales, Juan Vásquez del Marmol. It is likely that the Master Mancio was to say whether it were good enough for the Escorial, since this Mancio was "Catedrático de Prima de Teología" in the University, and apparently a friend of Morales. (*Viaje*, p. 192.) As we know, he approved, and it is safe at the Escorial.

[5] There is, as said already, a codex of 1552, without miniatures, in the Vatican: this remains so far entirely unpublished.

[6] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 sqq.

mentos (1126–29) has marked likeness to the silver reliefs of the Arca Santa and is thus proved by style, as well as by history, proper to the Asturian capital. We must remember that there exists an open road as much travelled in the early centuries as by the diligences today, which crosses the mountains and links Liébana, with Potes for a centre, to Burgos and Cardeña, whence again the old *Camino de Santiago* runs on eastward into the Rioja, not far from San Millán. This brings that venerable sanctuary into contact with the Asturias as easily as with Saldaña and the Palencia region.

Since there seems a constant tradition [1] that Beatus wrote two codices with his own hand, the eighth-century original may be located, then, at the apex of the triangle, in Liébana, to be transmitted at about the same time to San Millán and Valcavado. But while the style at San Millán is subject to all sorts of influences, there is at Valcavado a surprisingly fixed type, unalterable to the end. This must confirm the legend, which is itself not only quaint but plausible and reasonably authenticated, that the monk did leave his lonely abbey and end his days in the Campos de los Godos.

III

The *Commentaries* of Beatus constitutes, as the title indicates, a *catena aurea* or string of passages from the Fathers interpreting the Vision of St. John. The list of sources differs somewhat in the manuscripts and ranges from eight to ten in number, with variants; in the Apocalypse of St.-Sever the eight monastic commentators are arranged in compartments of a frame after the manner of Vigila's figures in the *Albeldensis*.

Not all the manuscripts are complete at beginning and end; but there should be, in a perfect copy, a good deal of introductory matter, a presentation of the Book of Revelation in sections or *histories*, each followed by an *explanation*, and finally St. Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* in which the miniatures are often inferior. The paintings include one or more pages of frontispiece, with representations, here or elsewhere, of Christ Coming or Christ Reigning, the Triumph of the Cross (Fig. 1) or the A and Ω of Revelation i, 8; then more or less extensive tables of Christ's genealogy according to the flesh, that may include vignettes of Adam and Eve, or the Sacrifice of Isaac, or the Annunciation or Epiphany, or perhaps some portrait heads in roundels, as where more than once a very beautiful pair is adapted for Jacob and Leah from an angel and Virgin Annunciate, while for Rachel overleaf the familiar Virgin Orante serves.

After these follow eight or even more full-page miniatures of the Evangelists, arranged in pairs; under curtained arches, with the symbol in the tym-

[1] Antolín, *op. cit.*, *Ciudad de Dios*, LIII (1900), 25.

panum, are seen, on the left side the traditional Evangelist and attendant, on the right a pair of angels that hold between them or pass from one to the other the Book (Fig. 2), or the casket which contains it. Above, very often, the symbolic beast is set on one side rampant, couchant, passant, or regardant, and opposite to that in half-length the Byzantine symbol, human but beast-headed. Somewhere usually occurs also a set of arcades after the manner of the Eusebian canons, that serves in the first and the latest codex to reckon the names of Antichrist and their numerical value.

Then the Vision proper opens, and the miniatures illustrate the Scripture passages, with certain well-marked exceptions. The map is one of these; so is the array of the twelve Apostles who were like grain scattered through fields. For them are sometimes substituted Adam and Eve, or they sometimes are marshalled to fill the gap left by dropping the Fathers, in whose exegesis no one took much interest any more. The story of the deathless Witnesses, Enoch and Elias (Revelation xi, 3–12), introduces usually three pictures, namely, their expectancy in Paradise, their martyrdom, their ascension on a cloud to present themselves before the Throne. A fox that carries off a cock may be set simply on the white parchment between two lines of the text, or else framed like any other picture; and various knots, crosses, and other ornaments fill spare space, but these and the initials and section-headings are rarely pictorial, but purely decorative in their intention.

The pictures often fill a whole page, or the better part of one, and sometimes a pair of pages; on the other hand, such recurrent representations as those of the Seven Churches, the Seven Trumpets, the Seven Vials and their consequences, are set in smaller oblong rectangles, sometimes two on a page, or three on two pages. The upshot is that the Type Codex is very richly illustrated, and adequately decorated, all the scenes having a specific content and context, and frequently a mystical intention. If you open a Bible and look through the Revelation, jotting down the things that seem by their significance to call for illustration, you will have a list pretty closely corresponding to the Beatus illumination, with one sort of exception. Those which do not lend themselves to plastic representation are omitted.[1] Juan Rodríguez tried in Toledo to show the City of God coming down from heaven, but Beatus was wiser. Jan van Eyck, when on a visit, painted the Fountain of Life which was copied for two Spanish convents, but Beatus left the deep river flowing away from beneath the Throne and the trees waving on the two sides of it, and sent up John's soul like a white bird to look on and understand.

Last, there comes an *asunto místico*: the city of Babylon, shameful and holy, locked and guarded with serpents for warders and two immense dragons

[1] In the Romanesque manuscript, however, is found a quaint attempt to show that there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour.

coiled about — sinister as the Dark Tower. To the author, Moslem Babylon had been perhaps sheer terror, to the limners copying, a mingling of menace and splendor that well could typify the allurement of this glorious and wicked world; but primarily it was a real place and the Beatus picture was copied in the codex of Roda [1] to figure as historical and geographical, along with Nineveh and Toledo, actual and romantic.

After the Siege of Jerusalem (Fig. 3), in the Beatus manuscripts [2] the *Commentary on Daniel* begins overleaf. I know but one copy from which this was wanting, but it cannot have figured in the first codex, for the painting, though always integral with the rest, is rather different in conception, even to the point that wherever the Apocalypse figures are set free against the white parchment, in Daniel, conversely, they are framed and the colored grounds restored.

IV

When Beatus illustrated his *Commentaries*, as for his material he had drawn on the Fathers, — chiefly Spanish or North African, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius, Gregory, Apringius, Tyconius, Irenaeus, Victorinus, and Isidore, — so for his miniatures he had sources familiar and traditional at hand. There were enough manuscripts in the north, carried up by the Christians retreating in the early eighth century before the Moslem host, or later sent up for exchange, purchase, or gift, besides those which had been there already before the fall of Roderick sixty years previous. Liturgical manuscripts were a daily necessity: in the Visigothic days the northern cities had their own treasures, and the refugee kingdom was more likely to possess the *beaux restes* of the past than to have made plain and illiterate copies, however suitable these to their fallen estate. Some were doubtless in the old Latin style; some, perhaps, of North African Fathers in a style of which we know little even conjecturally; some also Eastern, liturgical, or doctrinal, or secular. In the southeast, the Byzantine empire had held on till the seventh century;

[1] Written in the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century somewhere in the Rioja, Navarre, or Upper Aragon. See Z. García Villada, *El códice de Roda recuperada*, in *Revista de Filología Española* (1928), p. 123 and Fig. 8. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Gillet for bringing to my attention this amusing illustration.

[2] Lists of the miniatures have been published for the following codices: Rylands: A. Bachelin, *Description d'un Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1869, and M. R. James, in *Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1921. St.-Sever: L. Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie et de Bibliographie*, Paris, 1880. Turin: Theodor von Frimmel, *Die Apokalipse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1885. Ashburnham-Morgan: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the second series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of H. Yates-Thompson*, London, 1902. San Andrés de Arroyo: L. Delisle, *Inventaire alphabetique des MSS. latins*, Paris, 1891. Escorial: G. Antolín, *Un códice Visigodo de la Explanación del Apocalipsis por San Beato de Liébana*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, Madrid, 1902. Urgel: Pere Pujol, *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1917. Gerona: Francisco Bofarull y Sans, *Apuntos Bibliográficos*, Barcelona, 1889. *Burgensis:* E. S. Buchanan, *The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse*, Appendix III, London, 1916. Of the following I am not sure: Valcavado: Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, *Códices y manuscritos que se conservan en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid*, Valladolid, 1888; Corsini: Villada in *Razón y Fe*, Madrid, 1905 (I think not). Domínguez Bordona supplies a concise list for each of the Beatus MSS. in his catalogue of the 1924 exhibition (Madrid, 1929).

and in León, a convent under the rule of St. Basil was surviving till the coming of Cluny. If the Ashburnham Pentateuch is almost the only fine specimen of the miniature of the Visigothic church, yet it can stand for much that we have lost, and the exceptional character of the style must leave us still assured that the other more monumental style flourished contemporaneously; if not, the fusion of manners would be discernible. From what was to follow before the eighth century drew to a close, it is necessary to infer already a strong Eastern admixture.

The central Valcavado group has a look of offering the primitive or type form. The successive copies differ so little from each other that they may be treated as a unit in considering the sources and constituents of the style.

What first strikes one on opening the pages is, of course, the brilliant coloring, the banded backgrounds. The picture is a solid mosaic of color. The figures, whether or not arranged in rows, are dressed in vivid hues and set in a field striped like a Roman silk, without any white or black intervening. There may be four bands, or six, or eight: for instance, scarlet at the top, then yellow, then blue in two tones of darker, lighter, and darker again; or, again, reading downward, deep blue, narrower green, yellow, scarlet, narrower violet, yellow, salmon, and green. In these the figures are imbedded as in Limoges enamel.

After the first surprise one recognizes that the novelty lies in the spectator. The Early Middle Age employed a colored background consistently: the Vienna Genesis and the Rossano Gospels are both written on purple parchment against which the figures stand; the Sinope fragment has a salmon-pink ground; and for Beatus, for Maius, for Facundus, no explanation was needed. There was indeed another tradition, of an unbroken field of white parchment, represented in Spain by the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Bibles of Roda and Ripoll, and the Escorial codices from Albelda and San Millán; this persists in the early Beatus illumination from San Millán. But the other way was more magnificent, and very ancient.

It comes down indeed from the antique, the "illusionist" art which Professor Morey has traced to Alexandria. In the Vatican Virgil it is employed already; Paul de Nolhac [1] observed more than thirty years ago that the painter, having a certain sentiment of aërial perspective, tried to render the effects by the variations of the background: in Hell indeed all is violet, — in that twilight underworld, — but ordinarily he divided the rectangle into three horizontal bands: the sky blue or green, the middle pink, the ground pale yellow-green or ashen-grey. Miss Avery in her skillful study of Sta. Maria Antiqua [2] singles out with peculiar care just those chapels and walls and

[1] *Le Virgile du Vatican et ses Peintures* (Paris, 1897), p. 31; cf. pp. 37–38.

[2] Myrtilla Avery, *The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bulletin*, VII (1925), 131–149.

layers of fresco in which the bands of color show up plainly. In Wilpert's Roman color-plates, along with some ninth-century scenes from Sta. Maria in Via Lata and S. Clemente, we must accept the eighth-century composition at Sta. Maria Antiqua of Christ enthroned with a row of saints as consciously employing the convention, and also as being a variant of it the background of the Crucifixion and the scenes at Sta. Saba among which is found the Paralytic Healed. An amazing Ascension at S. Clemente will be described more fully.[1]

One early mosaic, however, in Sta. Maria Maggiore,[2] supplies the key to the Beatus; the theme is Melchisedek, the bands of colors are: (1) blue = sky, (2) gold = air, (3) yellow = middle distance, (4) green = ground. In all these mosaics gold is used for the air. The Beatus manuscripts show a disposition towards yellow: at times a fine scarlet is used instead, or a sort of salmon-pink with a cloudy smudge along the upper edge, precisely as in the Japanese prints which put blue at the top of the sky and shaded pink along the horizon; though the paint there is wash instead of impasto, the convention is the same.

All the so-called Alcuin Bibles have banded backgrounds, and here also the personal associations of the name enter to seduce and confuse the judgment, but the French miniatures show no comprehension apparently of color-mosaic and are described [3] as softly striped with blue, violet, and white in a fashion directly borrowed from classical painting. In any case they fall sixty years too late to have influenced the prototype, and too early to affect any known Beatus manuscripts. The style, furthermore, is entirely different. Sporadic instances of the banded background occur in other manuscripts, but they are too rare and too late to prove anything. Once we have it in the Psalter of Charles the Bald, where the Dance of David [4] along the mountain tops affords an awkward but unmistakable case. And again in a twelfth-century Psalter painted for a Dorsetshire abbess are said to be some eight miniatures "in a stiff archaic style with backgrounds of a single color or in broad bands of purple, green, blue and red;" [5] in the Psalter of St. Robert at Cîteaux [6] the scene of the Flagellation is set against a banded background, but that came from Arras; yet Stephen Harding was a Dorset man.

[1] Joseph Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* (Freiburg, 1916), IV, Pls. 192–193, 180, 188 (2), 210.

[2] Temp. Liberius, 352–366. I owe thanks to my colleague Dr. Diez, who called my attention to this in Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, 8.

[3] J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), Pl. XI, pp. 95–96. He adds that the striped background survived as a noticeable and persistent feature in the early German style.

[4] Figured in Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte* (Milano, 1924), II, 315.

[5] *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, British Museum*, II, 8, Pl. IX.

[6] C. Oursel, *La Miniature du XII siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux* (Dijon, 1926), p. 23 and Pl. I. The work of Fr. Osbert of Arras, in 1125 (*ibid.*, 7, Pl. LI) hardly shows the same tradition which appears elsewhere (Pl. XLVIII, L), and promptly breaks down into heraldic quartering, as in the case of the Rylands Beatus.

Coming back now to the illuminated page with an eye a little educated, and recognizing that the monumental scenes are thereon portrayed in two or more registers, as the action goes on simultaneously in heaven, on earth, and in the midst between, the coloring appears less unaccountable. In the first scheme cited above, the blazing heaven is scarlet, the air is yellow, the blue, with alternation of tones, is the sea. Again, in one of the scenes that deal with the Seven Churches where the Lord is enthroned among the Seven Lamps (*ubi sicut leon*, it says), the empyrean is deep blue, with a narrow green passage to the second register that consists of a yellow field of stars, scarlet where St. John is with the angel, and violet for the standing-ground; lastly, yellow light, a salmon color for the burning desert air, and green earth underfoot. From this and scores of other paintings it is manifest that the artist is bound by no formula but has a definite "expressionist" attitude towards his colors. The manuscript from which these two examples are taken was early; later, the paintings tend to lose the half-symbolic color values, like yellow for the desert sand, scarlet for the burning air, a deep and powerful blue for the abyss and the empyrean, and to pass into pure schemes of decoration, or what seem such to the Western mind. For we have always to remember that to Spain the whole East was open, was pouring in; more than once a manuscript was copied by a *Sarracinus*[1] for whom the colors had as it were numbers and secret significances, and the design when completed was like a magic square or the apocalyptic computations.

Composition in two or more registers was no invention of Beatus, for the Vienna Genesis with infinite pains beguiles the action from one line down to another by means of a few hills or the rocky steps above a spring, a path, a bridge, or the road that winds down and into a city gate. The Rabula Gospels, after depicting the Crucifixion, frankly rule a line across the space and set the Resurrection scenes below. The Greek Homilies of Gregory, in the ninth century, particularly admired and also particularly important for liturgical use, were, too, particularly apt to be illustrated on close-packed pages with piled-up episodes. On the other hand, as already intimated, the *mise en scène* of the Beatus fairly imposed some such arrangement — a vision of heaven, the abyss, the sky and earth between, as where St. John lies in the lower corner and sends up his soul, like a bird held by a thread, to perch on the arm of God's chair within the star-framed circle of blue that is called *Tronus* (Revelation vii, 9–15). In certain cases we must allow for a somewhat vertical per-

[1] The question of this name is a difficult one; the papers of San Millán and Silos are full of witnesses called Alvaro Sarracínez and then anon in the next generation Sarracin Alvárez, and the like, as though it were such a name as any other, as Miss English and Mr. French are good Americans. Yet the monk who signed in 772 as Sarracin Presbyter may on the other hand have been a convert and so Vigila's *socius* Sarracin at Albelda, who was certainly a tonsured monk; and the best-reputed scholars have admitted the recurrence of the name as evidence of the presence of Moors.

spective, by which the twenty-four Elders about the Throne are set in two bands, half just above and half just below the Throne (Fig. 4), this being indeed a very ancient convention of representation. Where a line is too long to be embraced within the breadth of the page, it is reduplicated in continuation, as in the solemn ritual dancing, just as once a whole scene is cut athwart and lifted over to the next page, in the Gerona Vision of the Son of Man (Revelation i, 12–20). Once in a long while the old "continuous method" is frankly employed. Elsewhere, it takes indeed the whole page, like a meadow or a parade-ground, to accommodate the Vintage (Fig. 5), or the Four Horsemen, the Fall of the Dragon, Hell's Chivalry (Revelation ix, 7–12), or the "White Horsemen who ride on White Horses, the Knights of God." Where the eye follows — say from the Throne, established at the top, flanked perhaps by the separate seats,[1] row upon row, of those who reign with God forever, past sun and moon that are falling, falling, through measured spaces down to the roots of the mountains, or where, amid the javelins of the lightnings and the rushing of an angel, the millstone drops crashing into the sea, below which is the House of Hades, that is Babylon — there in such cases the convention approves itself as entirely right.

As the centuries went on, the great apse-mosaics may have had a part in altering the style in conformity with their monumental disposition: in the semidome, God; below, angels and Virgin; in the lower hierarchy, bishops and martyrs. But the twelfth-century manuscripts on the whole are less monumental. On the other hand, the Gerona presentation of the Souls under the Altar (Revelation vi, 9) suggests an apse-mosaic like S. Apollinare in Classe, and that of the three angels flying (Revelation xiv, 6–9) when "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," in the upper part, looks as though taken over from a semidome; while the Apparition among the Creatures, with the Elders adoring (Revelation xix, 4), as Emeterius painted it, recalls the triumphal-arch mosaics of the great early basilicas in Rome; but this was not taken up into the Valcavado tradition. Indeed it would seem that one scene from the very outset, fixed and canonical, the Glorification of the Lamb (Revelation iv, 6–8), had been transferred from a Byzantine dome-mosaic and the apse opening out there from (Fig. 6); and in one late manuscript a single miniature, confused and half obliterated, is copied almost certainly after such great dome compositions of figures ranged among palm trees as every traveller yet may see at S. Marco.[2] Where the treatment is different, as in the Osma manu-

[1] It may be that the Moissac tympanum owes a part of the conception to this composition which is, so to speak, canonical, and which is indeed almost certainly the explanation of that array of seated figures under arches which once walled in the choir at Compostela and now is built up on the two sides of an eastern portal there.

[2] It is not possible to point to any dome that might have served Beatus for a model; about the church of the Holy Apostles in Byzance we know too little, and what there is points another way; but there are three baptisteries, at Naples and Ravenna, that might serve as point of departure for his invention, though the theme is quite unlike his.

script, it still suggests a ceiling decoration; only in St.-Sever one wonders if there were a Viking strain on the Garonne, that the Kings should be wassailing with uplifted cups. Nor may be forgotten one of the miniatures in the Councils Codex, *Emilianensis* (fol. 392 v.), a wheel of twelve figures with staves, in mandorlas between tall candlesticks, like an adaptation to other significance of the Ravennate Apostles and palm trees.

Before leaving the question of what the artist might have adapted from churches with which he was familiar directly or at secondhand, it should be recorded that three miniatures at least of the Roncesvalles manuscript are copied from the stained glass of windows, preserving the heavy lead-lines that cut the composition transversely and are bent at square angles. In one case the Saviour appears in the centre of a rose window with fourteen cuspings. It is the fashion just now to refer all sorts of designs to stained glass as a source; the present writer feels that the habit would be a bad one, but is prepared to submit this manuscript as evidence that the thing was done. Another piece of borrowing is found in the locusts (Pl. V, 1–3) of the Romanesque and the Gothic Beatus which are taken over from the familiar human-headed monsters of Romanesque capitals, those for instance in Navarre at and near Estella, which symbolically correspond with the *mantigers* of Early English, and are the daughters of the Harpy and Syren, presumably.

A strange and striking likeness, that has already been cited in respect of the banded background and might be again as an adaptation of a known picture to a new theme, is the fresco in S. Clemente published by Wilpert [1] which represents the ascending Lord in a blue *Tronus* or mandorla, borne up by flying angels in a green sky filled with rosettes of little dots, below Whom, on a pale-blue band, we see His Mother, veiled, alone. Under her again the Apostles stand against bands of scarlet and, below that, of yellow. Some such image of the solitary figure between heaven and earth hung in some man's mind as it does in ours, and was repeated for the episode of the Souls under the Altar, in the miniatures from which Facundo and the Urgel painter copied.

This of Valcavado is at all times a monumental art, even in the refinement and sublimation of Facundo.

Primarily, however, it is an art of color. Form is indifferent; nay more, is set at naught. The page is a complete and considered whole, — whence arises one's failure to recognize at first sight the convention of successive heavens and reduplicating registers,— composed in pure color. Indeed the colors are very nearly pure in the technical sense; though not precisely those we are accustomed to call spectral they have as high a value,[2] and as the painter

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. IV, Pl. 210. Painted under Leo IV, 847–855.

[2] Unfortunately in even the best photographs of these miniatures the blue photographs as pale, and yellow and scarlet as dark, whereas for the eye they register very high.

mixes them for himself they are never absolutely identical, which gives a richness or vibration within the book as a whole like the varying threads in textiles hand spun and woven. Each tiny figure wears tunic and mantle of contrasting colors. Furthermore, the innumerable lines which mark the folds of drapery are drawn in color, two or three hues to a single garment: brownish-red for instance and grey-blue on a blue mantle, yellow and blue on deep red, green and violet on yellow. The consequence of this is like the effect of the glass at Chartres, the innumerable various-colored rays impinging on each other upon the retina making a shiver of color, controlled by the broad heraldic banding of the background. This particular device of color is most marked in the earliest manuscripts; and once toward the end of the entire series it is replaced by a true impressionist technique identical with Watteau's, overlaying ochre with lines of green, — not hatching but true drapery lines, — or rose with lines of violet. That is to say, the Beatus painting understands and employs not only a sort of illusionism but a true impressionism. Color contrast [1] is used also, consciously, in the decoration: the lettering of section headings upon a field of color often countercharged, with the outlining of single initials, scarlet by green, or yellow by violet.

Finally, in all the early painting both in the Palencia region and about San Millán, a solid color-mosaic is the technique employed. This, while diminishing realism, enhances potency. By "color-mosaic" the precise meaning of those two words is intended, without allowing for white ground, — strictly true at Valcavado, partially in the Rioja, — nor for black outlines, nor, so far as possible, for interstices within the solid opaque masses. The nearest parallel in our experience is in heraldry — Party per pale, gules and vert, or Azure, a chevron vair between three crescents argent. The same device, however, is discoverable in Byzantine miniatures and painting that, like Duccio's, is derived therefrom, and in the early Mesopotamian. In the earlier of our manuscripts a group of figures is welded together, overlapping without a gap; you find them prostrate before the Throne in two clumps, head to head, six on a side, solid as a panelled door without a keyhole. Take a page where the innumerable multitude forces the convention of four successive registers: three one above another, and the roundel held by angels over all; the background salmon, green, pale yellow, grey-blue, and pale scarlet, the figures sorted into sets of three as Leonardo was to do at the Last Supper table, but with only six hands projecting out of the entire animated mass, impermeable as L'Arlésienne or a bay and hillside of Cézanne's.

[1] Cf. Michel Eugène Chevreul, *The Laws of Contrast of Colour* (London, 1868), Part I, *passim*. For this impressionism see Pl. XI–XII, which are, however, not subtle enough; Pl. XV is lightweight, XIV too speckled; II comes nearest to the effect of the banded backgrounds but all Chevreul's colors lack depth and power in comparison with the Spanish. To submit a list of instances selected chiefly from Urgel and Facundo to illustrate his laws (in chaps. 3 and 8) of juxtapositions that increase brilliancy would occupy space and profit the reader little.

This convention is not of course invariable: for instance, it does not strictly apply to the seven scenes where St. John and the angel converse beside the Seven Churches, nor to the trumpetings and the emptying of the vials. When Maius, who has a rare landscape quality, paints an angel walking swiftly along the tops of lapis-blue waves the upper edge of the rosy air is faintly embrowned; and when Facundo conceives of the angel trumpeting, *aquilam volantem*, and sun and moon eclipsed in a star-set firmament, the wide sea's floor and the tingling air are, as we say, *felt*. The Fall of the Dragon is treated with conscious illusionism in every instance, and in the Vintage the units are set pleasurably about in the field. For indeed, as said before, in all the manuscripts of one tradition reaching out to Gerona and St. Sever, and in some measure even to Rylands and *Burgensis*, the same scenes are usually envisaged in like manner, however different the representation. But it is most striking in the scenes that have been called "canonical" for their invariability, such as the Second Coming upon Clouds (Fig. 7),[1] the New Jerusalem that looks like an ikon silver-plated and gem-studded, and in the Last Judgment where heaven and earth have fled away leaving only human kind, and the dead that are lying in hell[2] begin to awaken.

V

The foregoing remarks, of which the bearing is meant to be general, being applicable without exception to the manuscripts nearest the origin, may be considered sufficient in the case of Maius' work[3] and of Emeterius' share at Tábara, with the corresponding part of the Gerona codex.

In the early examples from San Millán, the same blind and imperious impulse is at work. Color is the dominant. The backgrounds are not banded, but consist, where present at all, of solid color within the enframing rectangle or

[1] Excepting, of course, the superb Gerona miniature, where another element enters in, and St.-Sever, copying Gerona.

[2] Revelation xx, 11–13; see for instance Facundo, ff. 247–248.

[3] The Ashburnham–Morgan manuscript was probably written at Valcavado. Maius says the abbot was called Victor and the place dedicated to St. Michael. Now the abbey near Saldaña has disappeared so completely that the gazetteer Madoz in 1846 knew the place only as *despoblado* (deserted) but Valcavadillo, close by, to which the last inhabitants must have moved away, has a church dedicated to St. Michael. Cf. Flórez, in the preface to his edition of the *Commentaries* (Madrid, 1790), pp. xvi–xvii. An Abbot Victor witnessed a document in 920, and he belonged, as I make out, in this ancient diocese of León, for the signatures run as follows: first, royalty, then the Bishop of León, then two Bishops *in partibus* (of Salamanca and Iria), then five abbots among whom Victor, then two Bishops of Astorga, and two more abbots. The two names, of Victor and of St. Michael, are both rare in the documents of the time and region. Between the two codices that Maius wrote forty-two years have elapsed, and he was probably old when he undertook the last (See Appendix, Note IV.). The very difficult colophon written at Tábara, I read as a pious tribute to Beatus from Emeterius which he commenced by transcribing, in red lettering, from the Valcavado manuscript which was there to be copied: "O man, Blest in truth, who lies entombed in the cloister." — When it came Tábara's turn to be copied, long afterwards, the earlier inscription was transcribed in its turn: *Catalogue of the Yates-Thompson Collection*, p. 304; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 131, 209 sq., 362; E. S. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 69. For the colophon of this and other manuscripts, see A. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, X (1906), 257 sqq.; here 260.

a heraldic quartering[1] as the field is divided by the design. The style is very like in the two great Escorial Codices of the Councils, securely dated late in the tenth century; but a progression is manifest from Beatus to Vigila and then to Velasco. In an old notebook,[2] the present writer has observed that in the Beatus the wings and draperies are calligraphic in form but with a sense for packing color so that the whole has mass where the Book of Kells has not. The drapery lines, which in the Valcavado group did indicate form in an impressionistic way, though they never were contour lines like those of Botticelli, have become pure pattern, and in the Escorial manuscript are accompanied by a series of little dots and dashes that reduce the whole design to patterning. The white of the parchment, reserved, is not a color like any other, but a true background, yet it enters into the composition as the cloud-and-sky forms combine in El Greco's Paris Crucifixion. Interstices are admitted, and indeed played for a high value, as where the blazing star falls, or in Jacob's wrestling with the angel (fol. 37 v.). For anyone who has renounced the last claim on representation in a work of art, there is something superb and troubling in the eagle and angel of the tenth-century manuscript (Fig. 8), or, only a century later (Fig. 9), the Lamb and four Beasts dominated by an avatar of Buddha.

Once recognized, the style of San Millán is impossible to mistake: the square, level cranium as though preserving some memory of a brachycephalic people; the almond-shaped eye, reduplicating instead of symmetrical, which lends life and expression and in profile becomes the Egyptian eye; the wings with mighty quill-feathers and with a coiled motive to represent the upper wing-joint where the soft, close plumelets lie, but (in the stricter tradition) without the hook employed by both Maius and Florentius at the root of the plumes, which is so surprisingly like the *Kreislappen* which once preoccupied Strzygowski in his analysis of early mediaeval design, and which probably does indicate in both miniature and gold work some far-off Asian source. The Cretan flounces which define so unexpected a silhouette in the Councils Codex indeed are wanting in the Beatus series, and so are the houses depicted with an upper loggia — as who should say a clerestory — like the

[1] This is found in some early frescoes at Rome; e.g., the Crucifixion at Santa Maria Antiqua.

[2] Because an unaccountable saying of Delisle's about the want of blue in one copy of Beatus has been too often repeated and too generally applied, a few of the notes written beside the manuscripts at the Escorial in 1919 and 1926 may be here transcribed. Beatus, ninth century: colors are blue, yellow, red, and green; angel trumpeting, almost all flame-color and blue; sun falling, figures below blue and yellow; space divided and figures composed admirably; pale yellow ground with red and blue; f. 103, new color begins, orange especially lovely; designs orange and grey-blue. *Albeldensis* (A.D. 972): red, orange, mauve enter in; orange, mauve, and pistache; by f. 116 the background comes to count for more, this is scarlet, the last pale yellow; the page with Vigila scribe, Sarracinus companion and Garsea disciple has in the compartments yellow, mauve, and scarlet, but green and blue added in dress and border. *Emilianensis* (A.D. 992): magnificent frontispiece all blue and yellow; titles, gold letters on bands of two blues and old rose; colors deep blue, terra cotta, deep green-yellow, and one more blue; new title-page still blue and green-grey; (elsewhere) by dint of drawing he is learning to draw!

Roman villas shown in the mosaics of North Africa. Yet the style is one. For it is before all the determination of everything to pattern, often powdered, often imbricated, or spiral, or most often that double curve which Hogarth chose to call the line of beauty — and all this not linear but essentially substantial, two-dimensional, opaque, solid, shaped, by which the great scriptorium struck out its identity as a medal is struck, and always, after no matter what incursions and influences, enforced its unforgetting tradition.

The manuscript at the Academia de la Historia was a long time in writing, and some have ascribed it to one Albino;[1] the early pages oriental, mysterious, setting strange ambiguous figures in frames of curious form (ff. 63 v., 68, 83) (Fig. 10). The next stage — but indeed this hand, if one hand it is, ranges all through the volume — prefers to silhouette the figures free upon the parchment. This is a Byzantine device, much practised in Spain. It is also characteristic of the oriental treatises on technical subjects, like the *Dioscorides*, when we first encounter them. Coming back to our codex, suddenly a curtain rises upon an approach to the twelfth century and, if I am not wrong, on the very earliest page the newcomer does his rarest and most characteristic work, continuing through to the close with the help of at least one disciple (fol. 138 v.) and the presence in two places[2] of someone else not unfamiliar with the Byzantine tradition. The banded background now enters in for the first time. Along with it, however, appear the perspective which looks down into a building,[3] and those swift, rushing movements, those crossed legs and writhing hips, that are credited to the English school. The pilgrim,[4] if such he was, trained his scholars and went his way, for the characteristic square head-form of San Millán reappears, and the disposition to treat drapery as material for design.

This was not the first irruption of the English style into Spain. In the Cross on an opening page of this very manuscript, as in certain pages of the Escorial Councils Codex, it would be hard not to acclaim something Anglo-Saxon.

Opening the Beatus now at Burgo de Osma we find along with traits characteristic of the scriptorium of San Millán such interlaced and racing figures as belong by definition to England alone;[5] and the Cross that should at the outset be reared up spanning a whole page is almost undiscoverable, entirely

[1] Albino, mentioned in the manuscript by a note in the same hand as the rest, is a fabulous person of the eighth century (A.D. 770) or the copyist of a lost manuscript earlier than the tenth (cf. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 263). The name, however, sticks in one's head: Albinus is the Latin name of Alcuin. The notes in manuscripts of San Millán are, more than most, confusing and irresponsibly unintelligible, and it may be the scribe intended a reference to the great Englishman who called himself Beatus' pupil, in which case his date is probably correct, though not his notion that Alcuin was ever at San Millán. Cf., however, A. Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (Pegasus Press, 1929), I, 51.

[2] A standing angel, f. 183 v., and the Fall of the Dragon, ff. 159 v. and 160.

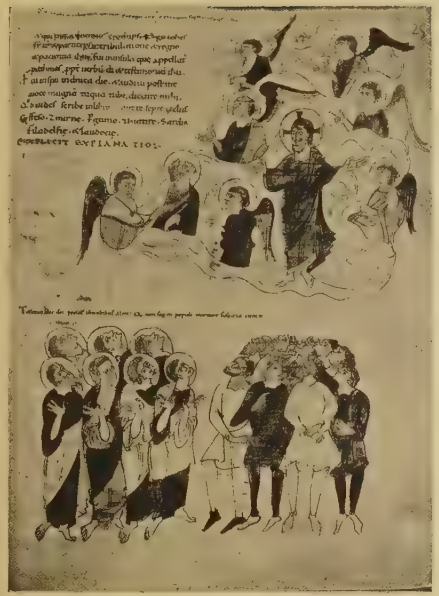
[3] The convention is one of the things most characteristic in the miniatures of the Berlin Beatus.

[4] See Appendix, Note II.

[5] The racing whippet is not, however, to be found in Spain; and the little beasts (Pl. IV, 5, 7) seem more often to be another breed; cf., moreover, Gómez-Moreno's magnificent initial from San Millán, entirely Asiatic, in *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 363, Fig. 199, Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination* (Pegasus Press, 1930), Pl. 6.

Beccaria phot.

3. The Siege of Jerusalem (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale) XII Century



Beccaria phot.

7. The Second Coming (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale) XII Century

M. Moreno phot.

8. Eagle and Angel (Escorial: from San Millán) X Century

M. Moreno phot.

10. St. John and the Angel (Madrid, Academia de la Historia: from San Millán) X Century

M. Moreno phot.

9. The Glorification of the Lamb (Madrid, Academia de la Historia: from San Millán) X Century

insignificant, but on the other hand it is jewelled like that of Cynewulf's *Dream*. On other pages some of the decorative frames so characteristic of Albino, just modernized a trifle, imply a working acquaintance with the codex which never left the property of San Millán except to pass to the Academia de la Historia. A third factor is that the face of the Saviour looks like Winchester; but not much else does, and in this part the resemblance to Oviedo is very striking. Indeed it is strong throughout the work of this *Martinus peccator*, with the same elongations and deformations, the same use of line to establish rhythm, even the same imbricated design to represent feathers.[1]

A strange trait, which this western manuscript shares with the far-off Portuguese one, is the idea of making *Meretrix* really a witch (Revelation xviii, 23, and II Kings ix, 22). The fruit thereof is a sinister scene where the ten kings, marching with brandished swords, are burning the witch, who seems to dance among the flames, playing with her long hair as dancers play with scarves, while the Great Serpent and the Beast do her a sort of amorous homage, and the Lamb looks unpleasantly like offspring of the Beast.

This then is the situation: at a Benedictine foundation, ancient and isolated in the West,[2] towards the close of the eleventh century meet converging influences from San Millán and Oviedo, others Anglo-Saxon or English of Winchester, with a strain of folk-lore; they impinge upon a genius fresh and inventive to the last degree. Drawing lines upon the map, these are likely to meet in the mountain wilderness of the Vierzo,[3] at the abbey of Carracedo.

[1] There are four fine plates taken from the *Libro de los Testamentos* in the article by Professor José Pijoan, *Romanesque Baroque*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII (1926), 251–254. Comparing portions of Osma fol. 142 with *Test.* fol. 11, the type of design and feature in Osma fol. 73 with *Test.* fol. 1 (where the Witnesses arrayed are transferred bodily from some earlier Beatus but not from Osma), Osma, fol. 155 v. with *Test.* fol. 3, and all these with the Arca Santa (A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), Pls. 656–659), we can single out and avouch an archaic, stiff, metallic style at Oviedo which came down into the Vierzo when spring was in flower. The idea that Martín at Carracedo drew from an Asturian source is confirmed by the fact that in the Osma MS. alone does the Map conform exactly to the allocation of the Apostles in the Text.

[2] The western provenance is manifest in the map, where Asturias is represented by the Tower of Hercules, and St. James is in a towered church (all the Apostles are represented by their heads on their domains) like St. Peter. Lisbon is there, and a pink curved line cuts off Spain from the rest. It is interesting to observe that *Faro* is also depicted, on the other side of the Mediterranean — the Pharos of Alexandria.

[3] Two documents are copied on the next to last leaf of the codex: one a part of a bull of Innocent III addressed in 1202 to the Abbot and convent of Carracedo (cf. Angel Manrique, *op. cit.*, III, 406) and the other a letter of *L[upus] Dei gratia Astoricensis ecclesie episc. . . . Abbati et fratribus de Carrazeto.* D. Lope was Bishop of Astorga from 1190 to 1205 (cf. *España Sagrada*, XVI, 222); Férotin, *Apringius de Beja*, p. x, note. The only other thing this could prove would be the manuscript's belonging to a small place dependent on Carracedo, which, taking the beauty of the illumination in conjunction with the importance of the abbey, is most unlikely. Yet strangely enough, something of the sort once did happen. With the history of Carracedo is involved that of San Martín de Castañeda, where the Abbot Severus had been in 941 a patron of one Abbot Dominic, for whom, in 975, the Gerona Beatus was to be copied. In 1150 Castañeda was turned over to the abbey of Carracedo, which had been given to the Cistercians twelve years before (*España Sagrada*, XVI, 45 sq., 484). In 1154 it was freed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop and chapter of Astorga; but received the laws of Cîteaux only in 1207. Cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Provincia de Zamora, Catálogo monumental de España* (Madrid, 1927), I, 190.

The manuscript was still there in the thirteenth century.[1] Reconsidering the sorts of influence that have been identified, it is plain that while Martín was himself familiar with the scriptorium of San Millán, Benedictine likewise, the Anglo-Saxon manuscript was borrowed for use from San Millán or elsewhere for the Vierzo scriptorium, and almost certainly a copy of the *Commentaries* from Oviedo. The Spanish records are full of such incidents: loans by Valcavado to Tábara in the tenth century and by Tábara to Las Huelgas in the thirteenth, just as in the seventh San Braulio was begging to borrow Apringius for Zaragoza, and for his revival of learning in Seville Alfonso X was writing all over the Spains.

Carracedo is, like the Portuguese abbeys of Guimarães and Lorvão, an old Benedictine foundation (A.D. 990) made over to Cistercians and by them made over in their own sense; but in 1086 the incorporation of Santa Marina with the monastery and the rebuilding in the new Gothic style was nearly half a century off in the future. The genius of Martín may have anticipated the coming of spring, though he dwells among his own people. The pages of the Vintage and the Fall of the Dragon express a new idea of what constitutes a composition, and that of the Four Horsemen is little less than a miracle. It is delightful to watch him take an old form, rearranging, modifying, revivifying. Fresh and flowerlike as are these compositions, there is a profounder beauty in the formal design, the Gog and Magog (Fig. 11) that anticipate what Tintoretto was to teach to El Greco, or the seven celestial ministers with vials whose dance is led by a winged angel.

Plainly appears, on examination, how the old canon is observed alongside of the new rhythmic composition, and a close-packed mosaic is employed to represent crowds. The banded background is disused as far as possible, diaper patterns and acanthus courses being introduced with a naïve intention of decoration that would be funny if it were not tiresome. Therewith emerges at a certain point a mastery of rhythm in the pure line, motion and silhouette in repetition and inversion, that is no more English than it is Japanese, but might be the incalculable blossoming of a rare personal genius, more than half oriental, under the stimulus of special conditions.

About the manuscript preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional, which was entered in the Catalogue of the 1924 Exhibition as No. 11, even less is available. Cruelly abused, it has lost all the grand opening and the latter part, and other portions have been cut out, two leaves and two quaternions at the very least from each end being gone, besides other losses. The figure style relates it to the Valcavado group, and in especial to Oveco's own work at the mon-

[1] Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, León*, pp. 643–649. Morales, in his *Viaje*, I, 70, calls it "one of the most principal of the Order" of Cister; continuing: "They have had many books and gave them for old parchment, these however are left. . . " in 1572.

M. Moreno phot.

11. Gog and Magog (Burgo de Osma)
XI Century

Mas phot.

12. The Church of Sardis (Gerona) X Century

astery (now in Valladolid) by such traits as the movement and convention of the drapery, the action and contours of the nudes, the scheme, despite some modifications, of the Vintage. There is a likeness in countenance, in hands and feet, and perhaps in the wings, to the manner of Florentius [1] as we know it in the Morals of Gregory, dated 943. On the other hand, the banded background seems unknown, instead of which we get in some cases a distribution of free figures on the white field, spacious, with marked interstices, and nowhere packed into the mosaic of color like enamel. There are, moreover, in the opening portion of what we have, a set of compositions framed in metal-work designs which stand nearest logically and chronologically to the lost earlier source of the pictures that Martín was to copy from Albino of San Millán, and which grow away from it as the work proceeds. Borders that suggested metal work were found (Academia de la Historia, ff. 189, 191 v., 311, 197, and perhaps 183 v.) in conjunction with all the different ways of painting practised therein: they represented a constant though not invariable tradition at the abbey of San Millán. So, not all unexpectedly, where the Lamb stands upon the Mount (fol. 177), that hillock was of metal set with gems, like an oddly shaped reliquary. In the manuscript now under consideration the metal-worker's rôle is more important. We have (fol. 23) a plaque of metal, curiously lobed, enamelled, or jewelled, or both in a very superior anticipation of the Osma diaper; again (fol. 28) a tall one, diapered in the upper part; then (fol. 43) an adaptation of this design to the theme of a bolted door and two flanking figures, but the border is more like enamel than jewellery; (fol. 73 v.) a panel picture on a solid blue ground, topped by three green horseshoe arches, their fields red, bearing a palmette and a bird perched on it. In the next stage (fol. 96 v.) the panel, for reasons of design, is rounded below, not above, with metal-work frame, and depends from a wide band of stars topped off by a meander; over all, on the white parchment, an angel trumpeting. The reader has now assisted at a complete change of model in the course of fifty-odd pages, and the rectangular band of decoration is fairly persistent thenceforth. From it once bulges a cloud pierced by the Hand of God, or again in the middle of it is opened a circle enclosing the ark toward which the Beast habitually comes up from the abyss, — and this is one of the unalterable themes throughout the complete Beatus corpus, — but here he lies down and pants, with his back to it, like a watch-dog. The rectangular band

[1] He worked for an Abbot Abogalebh at Baleránica, which lies nearer to Palencia than to Burgos, on one of the confluents of the Pisuerga, and he is a figure of great interest worth a separate consideration. Cf. *España Sagrada*, X, 475; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 361 sqq.; Id., *Provincia de León, Catálogo monumental de España*, pp. 159 sq. A page of the manuscript in question is reproduced by W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, (1926), Fig. 14. A notebook remarks that color in bands of titles, e. g., pink edged with scarlet on violet, yellow edged with scarlet on green, and the first again, gives a kind of bloom like a plum. In almost every title the lines are countercharged and alternated, and the effect sought is impressionist bloom and luminarism, not color contrast.

of ornament is noted by Ebersolt as characteristic in Byzantine miniature in the eighth and ninth century and thereafter, wherewith it might be dismissed but for two remarks: one, that he selects among his instances one based on Cufic lettering which points the way by which it might have come to Constantinople; the other, that in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional these bands, whether stars or meander constitute the pattern, have always a symbolic value as representing heaven. The interlaced meander (fol. 105) recalls of course the borders in Coptic chapel frescoes.

The little Corsini codex, already mentioned as related textually to this manuscript, has a sort of pictorial likeness also which consists mostly in what the two in common lack, the banded backgrounds and the great canonical representations. As in the San Millán tradition, especially the manuscripts at the Academia de la Historia and Osma, so in these miniatures, half-length figures are multiplied to signify a crowd. Take the scene of Christ enthroned between two angels with books: the hair is puffed on either side of the parting in a twelfth-century manner familiar from the Ripoll jamb-statues and the Catalan Bibles, but present potentially in some of the Escorial Beatus miniatures. The background of a colored field and border in contrast is often counter-charged, composed with reference to the dress of the personages, tunic and mantle.[1] The intention of the color composition is for synthesis rather than contrast, and the effect of the designs is more nearly linear than any so far considered, which must be regarded as a sign of the tradition's breaking down.

San Millán being now quite out of the way, the line of investigation comes back at this juncture from the Rioja and the Vierzo, the Asturias and the Campos de los Godos to the Palencian river-basins, and the *locus* at Valcavado. The Valladolid Codex written there by Oveco in 970 is so true to type that it need not detain us. While showing in style a development from Maius' work of more than forty years earlier, in such things as conversational gesture and rushing movement, and recognition of forms underneath the curving lines of drapery, the result is an aspect of drama, or of realism, or of folk-dancing, or an effect of interior in one of the Seven Churches (fol. 48) contrived ingenuously but as pleasantly as Velázquez's Christ in the House of Martha. There are studies of the nude immeasurably simple but observed from the life, one like an "instantaneous" of a fat athlete doing the high jump (fol. 101 v.), elsewhere (fol. 120) a contour the precursor of the Rokeby Venus. Where St. John takes the reed and measures the temple,

[1] Take for instance: fol. 55, scarlet ground, violet border; fol. 166, scarlet ground, lilac border; cf. fol. 116, lilac ground, scarlet border. Elsewhere an angel scarlet and yellow is combined with scarlet, lilac, and grey-blue; or the ground is colorless but the border scarlet and the dress deep greenish-blue and scarlet; or border and angel scarlet adjacent to deep green-blue in tunic, hair, and vial.

the church with its wide chalet roof of overlapping curved tiles is entirely exact in its suggestion.

Indeed it is necessary to affirm here the veracity, so far as observation is possible, of the architecture in these manuscripts as in many others. The painter has his convention of simplification, just as Giotto had, but as the background of the Raising of Drusiana tells what Giotto saw when he lived in Padua and visited Venice, so the *Templum apertum* portrays schematically a church of the type called *triconch*, and the church of Sardis (Fig. 12) reveals that whoever was painting that page of the Gerona manuscript had acquaintance with a polygonal two-storied church with a crypt,[1] like St.-Benigne, and Fulda, and Aachen. The prototype of these he was in a better position to know — the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Nor is that the only crypt. The true dome that was known only by hearsay to the Carolingian limners, may be securely identified in the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, with windows in the arcading of the drum. The plain little churches of the Urgel manuscript (*c.* 1040) more than once suggest the Pyrenean Mozarabic chapels, and the First Romanesque style of Catalonia, as where the artist in the Siege of Jerusalem breaks away from his model to depict parallel barrel-vaulted aisles, and on another page with deliberate pains draws over his aisles those quadrant or half-barrel vaults which are found on both sides the Eastern Pyrenees. The Persian or Mesopotamian façade that Emeterius twice delineated is no more surprising, no more true to the Asian ambiance, than the representation of the New Jerusalem in the terms of Ukhaidir or Samarra, where the Gerona miniature will bear comparison with the photographs of Miss Lowthian Bell.[2]

For the latest and loveliest of the Leonese codices, that called "of Ferdinand the Great," there is little to do except, like Facundo who wrote it, to give God thanks. In the nearly three hundred years since Beatus looked at his first copy finished, this Mozarabic art has risen, grown, asserted itself in actuality, drama, palpable form, free movement in space; and then it has put away all that deliberately, turning inward. The solemn figures with their ritual gestures, their sacred dancing, their trumpets and sounding strings, slow-moving as hierarchs of the inner sanctuaries, recollected, impassible — what have they to do with the Visigothic ancestry, or the Romanesque civilization which the mighty Ferdinand was bringing down upon Spain? Theirs is a more ancient lineage, a temper attuned to infinitude. The attitude of

[1] This is not the one in Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration* (Bonn, 1922), Fig. 49, but a finer one, the source of that; having at the bottom something that resembles at first glance a wheel or rose window, which is really the projection in a sort of isometric convention of the pillared crypt and its annular vault.

[2] In decoration the early pages of Oveco challenge comparison not only with the Mozarabic Antiphonary at León but with the Gallican Sacramentaries that go back to the Mozarabic in ritual and likewise in ornament. Cf. Neale, as cited in Appendix, Note I. His little birds, cocks, peacocks, etc., associate him with manuscripts of Luxeuil and northeastern France, as the small ornamented crosses interlink his with work of the young Maius fifty years before. But with regret all discussion of ornament must be waived here for want of space.

humanism is denied, the claim of art as representation is disallowed. Not only out of the exquisite delicacy of the members, the chiselled noses, the slender throats, the tiny hands and feet, not only out of the tall and quiet grace of those that live in kings' houses, or the incredible refinement of studied gesture and large-eyed apprehension, but out of pure subtlety of line, out of sheer magnificence of color, the pattern is built up, the splendor is manifested, the mysterious emotion is evoked. *Ubi mulier sedet super bestia*, the ominous deep blue of heaven lowers and the desert wind blows over flame-colored sands, as when the Queen of the South came to marvel and beguile. (Fig. 13). The angel who trumpets for the seventh time hangs in deep green against a scarlet band, pale yellow being above and the wings deep blue — with the level trumpet, level gesture, level wings on the yellow air and the deep sky with stars dipping down on one side; and when the Temple is opened on deep grey and the eagle flies down over yellow to the seven angels ranged with their vials against sardonyx and serpentine, there breathes the same deep solemnity.

In all the pattern, in all the pure color-designing, the landscape sense that was so strong in Maius is never really repudiated: whether, as in the emptying of the vials on the earth and then over the sea, — depicted in a pair of broad framed pictures, — the wide reach of tilth and desert is only less troubling than the level sky-line above the curling waters of the ocean stream; or whether the two deathless Witnesses are standing between green trees in Paradise, and the quenchless lamps are burning overhead. Landscape is indeed the only visible art, as Schopenhauer reflected, that can set the soul free from the self; but the same end is gained by a symbolic expression, provided only the symbols are not too explicit — that is, too realistic — in values of representation. Take the scene of the Souls under the Altar: in the Albino manuscript, plump little nudities standing in their white stoles and nothing else, undeniably funny.[1] Facundo arrays his multitude below in adoration with veiled hands; and above in wide spaces against strong bands of burning color sets the altar, the hanging lamps, the votive crowns, the white birds which are *las ánimas*, and the mysterious half-figure, cowled, who broods yet blesses, who is perhaps in ecstasy.

Or compare with the pages (ff. 8 v. and 9) which stand for the Evangelist Mark: the lion above, *vox clamantis in deserto*, on the left a seated figure to whom another does humble service, on the right a silent twain, strong-winged — compare, I do not say such versions as Carolingian art compiled, but even the best of the Hellenistic inheritance. At best you get a beautiful and allegorical picture like David with Echo, or Isaiah between Night and Morning,

[1] The rendering of the Berlin Beatus, however, is happier: the altar set in a three-aisled church under a grand barrel-vaulting, while in a lofty crypt the "convent of white stoles" receive their raiment from the Hand of God. It is really a stole, in the central part at least; yet the whole is picturesque and charming.

quite cold, quite artificial, quite imitative. The keener delight that Beatus can yield, more subtle and more penetrant, is due in part to the continuity and dominance of symbolic values, in greater part to the ascendancy of convention and repudiation of representation, most of all to the power of color as the formal condition, by which this art approaches more nearly than any entirely Western to the state of music.

Like the west portal of Chartres, the Facundo manuscript marks the end of an epoch, the conclusion of a complete and self-conscious art. The mysterious beauty of the Queens of Chartres has much in common with these subtile Evangelists, majestic in their aloofness. But the beauty of Chartres is one of form, and that of Facundo, of color.

VI

The Gerona codex shows enough pages in the Valcavado style to substantiate the claim of Emeterius to be the pupil of Maius.[1] It has, however, other constituents which set it at the head of the list when another tradition comes to be computed. The other series is complicated with cross-currents and interrelations,[2] but consists, — basing the reckoning in both choice of theme and style of painting, — (1) of the titular manuscript, the latter part of that of the Academia de la Historia, St.-Sever, and Turin; then, still somehow in the same line of descent, (2) Arroyo and the Rylands manuscript, the Roncesvalles, that in the Museo Arqueológico, and *Burgensis*.

Before all else the manuscript of Gerona is remarkable, along with an Apocalypse in Paris (not Beatus), for including a representation very rare in Mozarabic miniature, that of the Crucifixion. Despite the presence of the two thieves and the activities of the sacred narrative, it is surcharged with symbolism and iconographically of the highest importance for the Spanish tradition, as showing, for instance, how "Adam lay y-bounden" in a winding-sheet

[1] The Abbot Dominic, according to antique documents, said Bofarull y Sans, *op. cit.*, p. 507, was living more than thirty years before the execution of the codex, and as abbot witnessed a document — a privilege given by the King of León (Ramiro II?) to San Martín de Castañeda and its Abbot Severus in 941, at Zamora, where Abbot Dominic was accompanying the Abbot Severus. Castañeda had been founded by Abbot Martín of Córdoba and his monks, who all came hither about 916 from Mouzute in the Tierra de Campos; and the church was rebuilt by Abbot John of Córdoba in 921. (M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 107, 167 sq., 173; Idem, *Zamora*, I, 69–72, 190 sq.) It is hard to believe that Dominic had not, in the course of years, been translated from some tiny monastery dependent on Castañeda to the abbacy there on the Lake of Sanabria, as it is hard to believe that Emeterius, on finishing the Tábara copy of Beatus, had not been called or recalled thither. Simple inspection of Stieler's atlas reveals how inevitably the highway runs past Tábara to Puebla de Sanabria whence the river-bottom of the Tera offers a pathway into the mountains around the lake. Both Tábara and Castañeda are situate in the diocese of Astorga and within the present province of Zamora. At Castañeda he found a Mozarabic culture not only derived from Córdoba at the opening of the century, but refreshed at about the time when Maius had been at work in Valcavado. The Becerro of Castañeda when it is published may conceivably yield a little more information, but I judge that it has already been examined by Sr. Gómez-Moreno as well as Bofarull y Sans.

[2] For instance, the bird and serpent of Gerona and St.-Sever is found in the Urgel manuscript, and in the Morals of Gregory.

and sarcophagus, and how the leafage which is noticeable about the feet of the Lord at Santiago is here springing up against the bottom of the Cross.

The Triumph of the Cross[1] is on the Rylands page repeated with variants, and, facing that, the Pantocrator enthroned between sun and moon is copied in much the same way, keeping the enframing interlace of lozenge and quatrefoil that provides places for the Evangelical Creatures and setting (as at St.-Sever) a fine pair of walking angels rather absurdly to bear up the whole, where Gerona had mysterious winged nudes, preserved in the Turin copy, but omitting the flying angels overhead and the dumb-bell mandorla of Christ, who inexplicably holds *mundus*, the orb of the world, in His right hand, a crescent hanging, however, in the field at His left. It looks as though the Saviour's feet were resting here in green leafage, as at Santiago. The Paris manuscript[2] is equally mystical in intention; it shows (fol. 15 v.) Enoch and Elias looking at the Crucified.

In these two Apocalypses of Gerona and Turin, and in those of St.-Sever and Rylands, the episode of the Four Horsemen is treated formally and includes the four Evangelical Creatures, with the *Agnus Dei* once or repeated four times. In that of Gerona, the Lamb dominates all from the *Tronus;* beside and somewhat below it, on either side, the two Evangelical Creatures are pointing and dragging St. John by the hand, with a swiftness of motion that is as though whirling upon their wheels, while in the next section two of the Horsemen move and act freely, the line below their horses' feet cutting off the section and allowing a recommencement below, with the other two Creatures and reduplicated Apostle and the other Horsemen, and a kind of bogy, winged and clawed, mopping and mowing after the last of them. As composition it is plausible and dramatic in a way, somewhat illusionistic. In St.-Sever, the double page looks like a polo game, the four riders not processional but interacting, the four St. Johns standing tranquil, the four little Creatures fluttering about, the four Lambs set in corners out of the way, like seals on a Japanese painting. The bogy is absent, or perhaps has coalesced with the fourth rider, whose locks of hair are flame-shaped like those of devils on French Romanesque capitals, a convention repeated often in this manuscript and discoverable in that of Silos. Rylands in the twelfth century cuts up the field strictly into four levels and sets the Lamb in the middle of the highest, leaves Creatures and Evangelist in animated converse in their sections, without relaxing the firm grip on the wrist, and restores the bogy, in a shaggy fell, to whom the Rider on the white horse points out the

[1] Compare also, with this, the Lamb in a Turin miniature (Fig. 14).

[2] The Paris MS. (N. A. Lat. 1132) here touched on as Apocalypse confines the coloring chiefly to blue and yellow, breaks down into mere pen drawing, and comes to an end untimely, but not before thoroughly trying out the representation of walking by legs crossed and by legs forked in a welter of inconsistency.

Beccaria phot.

14. The Triumph of the Lamb (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale) XII Century

Mas phot.

15. The Two Beasts (Gerona) X Century

scales of his predecessor. At Turin the field is quartered and the Lamb set at the top on a sort of scutcheon of pretense. Each of the upright rectangles carries the Evangelist and St. John in the upper half and the rider below, but St. Matthew and St. Mark have changed places; while the figure of Hell is the same bird-like abortion, furred and feathered, that may be seen in Raphael's little St. Michael and in some of the Hells of Flanders. It remains only for the manuscript of San Andrés to turn the figure of Death into a horned monster and adumbrate the model for Dürer's Sintram composition. The progression had been from a pure and consciously ancestral art, through *genre*, to one formal and conventional, thence to the decorative and grotesque.

The same evolution may be traced in the theme that has here been designated as Hell's Chivalry (Revelation ix, 16–19). The Gerona page, subordinating as always the banded background, remains pictorial, free-moving, credible like a ballet on the stage, with fire-breathing steeds and all; Rylands is silhouetted, symmetrical, with sudden naturalism ready at hand for the figures of that third part of mankind who died; a superb thirteenth-century text treats it heraldically, quartering the field and embedding therein figures of marked orientalism, indescribable in beauty and distinction [1]; that of Roncesvalles swings off into comedy like Daumier's, which has a social and satiric bearing — the savage old beast Abaddon followed by sorry troopers cruelly caricatured.

One other sequence must perforce suffice: the passage (Revelation viii, 7) where at the first angel's trumpeting with hail and fire the green things of earth are burnt up. In the tall rectangular panel here, the design remains, in Gerona, purely decorative; in Rylands it renders landscape as Giotto did through conventions easily acceptable; by the thirteenth century the feeling for nature is exquisitely expressive and has made a new linear convention with spacial rhythms; but St.-Sever, in altering the shape of the picture and substituting a new set of conventions, devised in the twelfth century something more comparable with Hokusai.

It should now be apparent how a canon of representation, though modified in development, may keep its place within the confines of a tradition, provided always that the art is racial, self-conscious, and at one with itself.

Syncopating rashly, Professor Pijoan said once [2] that the Gerona codex was written at Córdoba; that does not seem possible, but his impulse came of course from the non-European aspect of the painting. The fantastical ornamentation of the Seven Churches, the patterning of the clouds like enormous coarse leaves, are examples of indifference to actuality, but the same hand

[1] This is Morgan MS. No. 429. Cf. W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, IV, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII (1926), fig. 71.

[2] José Pijoan, *Historia del Arte* (Barcelona, 1915), II, 311.

which painted the two subjects just cited is accountable also for the Witnesses of the Resurrection, for the Moslem rider in close vest and flying turban, the Epiphany scenes which include a lady whom the Apocalypse called Jezebel receiving company in bed, and the One among candlesticks where St. John as suppliant lays hold of the Lord's bare foot with delicate and exquisite hands. The mingling of convention and veracity and grotesque, of pure ornament and what can only be called conscious realism, in the Hunting of the Beast, is inexplicable. Set among formal designs and a diabolical tetramorph, with a mystical prophecy of hope inscribed over the arch, appears a sort of Harrowing of Hell (Revelation xx, 13) which figures here alone among the manuscripts and is adapted to confirm a doctrine of Purgatory, while elsewhere, in Silos and Rylands and San Andrés de Arroyo, Hell betrays a complete finality, and therein discomposing possibilities of recognition. Illusionist art survives here, conscious, with its spacial composition, color contrasts, a sort of lifting and aërating towards the top.

Besides this, the best instances of illusionism are the Fall of the Dragon, full of movement and space but less fine grotesque than where the two Beasts rearing up from earth and sea grin in each other's teeth (Fig. 15); the shrouded figures of Enoch and Elias standing on pedestals against a banded background under a horseshoe portal; and the twelve Apostles walking in a garden in the cool of the day. Two of them have the marked countenance which we call Jewish and a third, of exceptional height, is conceived as an Arab philosopher.

The problem of Gerona has not been faced, it has not even been admitted. The solution will have to be worked out in presence of the miniatures. Banded backgrounds are not absent but they become subordinate, in part from the appearance of other ornament on the white page: the delightful Persian–Seljuk dragon with a turned-up tail (cf. Pl. IV, 17), magnificent griffins walking among trees, and an episode where four rabbits are disposed among three trees. The color is not so deep on the whole, the scarlet being paler and thinner, and the yellow less used. Calling this Beatus more truly Mozarabic, comparable to the *Hispalensis*, is one way to assert the manifest difference from everything that has been regarded so far, but it neither explains nor defines even if it describes.[1]

Indeed an expert orientalist is needed in the field. We get nowhere by saying that on the frontispiece of St.-Sever a Cufic inscription is interwoven with the pattern and that across the back of the seat in a miniature of No. 11 the

[1] The description, however, confirms the unblemished Mozarabic pedigree which has here been propounded. The Rylands manuscript, which was sold with the library of the Marquis of Astorga, and that of Turin, are directly indebted to this one and must be assigned to the same parts — the southern and western slopes of the mountains of León; while that from Osma came into being across the watershed, nearer to the Cantabrian Sea. In the Turin map, along with a sufficiency of Narbona, Caesar Augusta, Betica, and the River Tagus we see, at the sea's edge, *Sci. Jacobi Apti*. This instance is all but unique; and quite so is a double-page composition (fol. 3) apparently astrological.

tall Cufic letters are simulated; that the Chivalry of Hell wear folded turbans in the Gerona codex and the *Burgensis*, and that in all the early manuscripts, as late as Facundo, figures are seated cross-legged on cushions, or in a posture which is familiar through all the East, ranging from Chinese Boddhisatvas of the sixth century to Persian princesses of the fifteenth (cf. Pl. I). So sits, in those of the lineage of San Millán, the Saviour; in the Gerona tradition, the Woman in the Wilderness; in them all, the Woman who is beguiling the Kings of the Earth. The scimetar which went out of the mouth of Him among the candlesticks, the slender *djerrid* used for the lance-playing by Arab horsemen, are only single instances chosen from a list that grows longer with the progress of Islamic studies. In plain lettering on a background at Urgel, *anti christus Jeitan* presents the Arab Sheitan: Tábara and various others are glossed in Arabic, among them I think No. 11, but I am not able to supply a list of these.

The orientalism permeates the books, suffuses the art, impregnates the imagination. The atmosphere, however, is constituted by concrete details,[1] if one traces them, like the identity of tree forms in known manuscripts east and west, or the convention employed to represent mountains, which comes from Mesopotamia and was to pass also into Persia and be affected by the Mongol. It is conceivable that the round fair countenance which appears suddenly in *Burgensis*[2] and is quite un-Gothic, should be derivative in part from the early Arab manuscripts dealing with secular and scientific subjects.

The study of Beatus is beset with surprises, not least of which is this: that the Persian–Mesopotamian influence which is recognizable, undeniable, came into Spain by manuscripts earlier than any now extant. Beatus is the witness for the earliest Islamic miniatures.[3] This is not so unlikely, given the conditions in Spain between the sixth century and the sixteenth. For six hundred years the currents flowed in from the East, carrying treasure of every kind, then set the other way. When at Granada he burned the books, Cisneros [4] was not the first; caliphs had done the same before, from motives identical; the

[1] Briefly enumerated, among the oriental factors of this group of MSS. — counting together Beatus, Florencio, the *Albeldensis* and *Emilianensis*, the *Hispalensis*, etc., and leaving out all decoration — are the following: (1) the comprehension of color, its use, and especially the color-mosaic; (2) the types of countenance, either Mesopotamian or Semitic, like the faces of seraphim and angels in the Morals of Gregory, Nahum in the *Hispalensis* Pl. I, some Apostles in Gerona, the convention of a profile, Pl. II, with the strange St. Matthew of Albino whose dewlaps on each side the face are but the long ear-lobes of a Buddha, fig. 9; cf. Pl. I, 2; (3) the postures just enumerated above, cf. Pl. I; (4) the flora, Pl. III; (5) the fauna, Pl. IV, with the Persian bull and hunting-eagle of the *Hispalensis*, and Gerona eagle and gazelle in Domínguez Bordona, *op. cit.*, Pl. 16.

[2] Cf. W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), Fig. 21; VIII, no. 4 (1926), Figs. 7 and 16, but more than all take X, no. 2 (1927), Fig. 25 for comparison with Kühnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Abb. 3–22. There is indeed a faintly Cistercian head recurrent in this manuscript and rather different from the one meant, unlike in the technical rendering of hair and eyelids, as will appear on comparison with Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII and XX.

[3] *Pace* Prof. Grohmann and his Coptic fragments, though Th. Frimmel remarked on Spanish parallels thereto nearly fifty years ago: T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Pegasus Press, 1929).

[4] Julián Ribera's study, *Bibliófilos y Bibliotecas en la España Musulmana*, is illuminating.

library of the Marquis of Villena, especially rich in Arabic and Hebrew, had to suffer the same fate as Don Quixote's romances of chivalry. When Bagdad fell just ten years after Seville the destruction had been enormous. Yet it has been said that after the fall of Seville the Moorish exiles recovered some part of their books and carried them back to Africa; this transportation, like the coming of a few North-African manuscripts to Visigothic Spain, must stay in the status of legend till I can authenticate both.

Señor Gómez-Moreno is reluctant to call any of our books Mozarabic. They are Christian work, at any rate, compounded of elements Latin, Byzantine, Alexandrian, Anglo-Saxon, on the one hand, and on the other both pieced out and interpenetrated and determined by what came by Moslem ways and through the Western Caliphate; produced during the Mozarabic epoch in those parts, namely Liébana, the Vierzo and southeastern León with the Rioja, Galicia perhaps, Asturias almost certainly, where other forms of Mozarabic art flourished. Just why the Palencian region should have offered so rich a soil, so kind an air, it is not possible to say,[1] but apparently all along the confluents of the Pisuerga and through the Tierra de Campos conditions peculiarly favorable obtained. In the Mozarabic liturgies we come upon a seventh-century Bishop of Palencia, Conantius, who was a poet, a musician, who found new music for the Psalms, did his part in composing the Offices, enriching them.[2] A study of the *Apostolados* published not very long ago showed the same thing happening to a special sculptural form between the twelfth century and the fourteenth.[3] It may not be amiss to recall that Palencia was the site selected by Alfonso VIII of Castile to found the earliest Spanish university, though Burgos and Toledo were the cities of his predilection. Strzygowski's theory of hothouse-culture in oases has a way of exemplifying itself and this must be accepted as another instance.

Here is neither space nor occasion to discuss the characteristics of the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, where the work of two hands is plainly to be distinguished in both writing and illumination; the one much finer, more Spanish and more Oriental in the limning, and more exquisite in the script. The appearance of Tarazona and Lérida on the map, in this manuscript, suggests that Stephanus Garsea who copied it for Abbot Muntaner, was an Aragonese from this Mudéjar region. Nor may I venture without examination of the manuscript to say more of the Berlin Beatus than that the painting seems to be completely unlike No. 11 and the Corsini codex or any other known to me. Two hands may be distinguished by difference in the drawing though the

[1] Cf. Almaraz, *El Real Monasterio de San Andrés de Arroyo* in *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210.

[2] Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris, 1912), p. xv.

[3] Right among all the *Apostolados* lies San Andrés de Arroyo, as a glance at the map will show, with a parish of Moarves part of its domain.

style is homogeneous.[1] The woman on the Beast is cantering through a well-wooded park; angels hold the Four Winds in a garden. The Glorification of the Lamb is rather magnificently composed, like a tall altar-piece, the Elders prostrating themselves in successive ranks, three by three, on the right hand and on the left, in oriental obeisance, crowned and with veiled hands, below; the Four Creatures about the Lamb are upborne on triple wings, among and about whom hang the seven candlesticks conceived as mosque lamps. One exactly like them hangs in a palace in a manuscript of Al-Biruni (A.D. 1000), copied in 1307 at Ghazni.[2] The wings, however, recall those in Coptic frescoes, the lion's face is like those in Catalan apse-frescoes which indicate the same direction, and the lamps were then swinging in the mosques of Babylon of Egypt.

In the Castilian uplands meanwhile the climate was severer. A quaint phrase indited by an English collector is more applicable to the style of Silos than to his own treasure, how "the rude Spaniard had evidently seen [some manuscript] and in his barbaric way carefully imitated it." Of the twelve Silos Manuscripts now in London,[3] one contains the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, ten are liturgical, and the last is the great Beatus finished one Friday noon in the month of April, 1091.[4] All these being service-books of the Mozarabic Rite, it seems fair enough to call them Mozarabic, also.

In spite of the "barbaric" style at Silos, the Beatus miniatures remain, notwithstanding, within the traditional limits and present the traditional themes, at times with great magnificence, breaking off into pure decoration at every opportunity. A good deal of explicit relation to Gerona, a few new Oriental traits, moments of realism, a return upon the true color-mosaic in the interest not of contrast but of unity — these are all perhaps explicable. Yet they have little to do with the history of the abbey and the relations it sustained with Monte Cassino and with the abbeys and courts of the south of France. That the work was begun in the year Santo Domingo died, and all about those hills and river-bottoms as it went on My Cid Ruy Diaz was raiding or ruling, you would never guess. The sculpture of the cloister was a thing apart, which was indeed once to set a seal upon the codex of Las Huelgas in

[1] Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.

[2] Or at any rate by one who knew the manuscripts there, if Sir T. W. Arnold conjectures aright. *Op. cit.*, p. 68, Pl. 37.

[3] Initials selected out of the Silos codices now in London were published years ago by the President of the Hispanic Society and up to this day of writing they remain the only worthy color-reproductions from all the Mozarabic manuscripts: Archer M. Huntington, *Initials and Miniatures . . . from the Mozarabic Manuscripts of Santo Domingo de Silos in the British Museum*, New York, 1904. Some of them resemble very closely the Leonese Mozarabic Antiphonary (*c.* 1066) with its chanting cadence of pale scarlet and jade-green, its wild splendor of repudiation when the human form is expected, so that like the notorious lady whose left eye did not interest M. Henri Matisse, these figures may want an eye, a chin, a nose, or face the world with the jaw contour uncompleted. The Catálogo of Domínguez Bordona includes four colour-plates out of the Beatus MSS.

[4] *Perfectus est igitur hic liber diemque temporis XIIII kal. maii, hora VI, die V feria, sub era TCXXVIIII.*

the thirteenth century, but the true correlation of the manuscript is with the other industrial arts, and appears in such things as the gold chalice, still there preserved.

The banded backgrounds are breaking down by the process which Dr. Diez calls the textilization of design, and are powdered all over by little dots in pyramid or quincunx. It is likely to happen anywhere at a certain stage and needs no presumption of contamination. Silos, however, is near enough on the map to Cardeña and in style to the Rylands Beatus to allow for interrelations; on the other hand, the backgrounds of Catalan frescoes came to the same thing on their own account.

Midway between Gerona and *Burgensis* the Silos Beatus stands. The parallels to its slightly earlier contemporary of St.-Sever that may be traced must perhaps be laid to the domicile farther eastward than most of the series and the greater freedom of European contact enjoyed. One consequence is perhaps the decorative introduction of roundels into the page, such as St.-Sever employed for the *Agnus Dei* in the Four Horsemen composition. These Roncesvalles arranged in clumsy relation to the *Agnus Dei*, and Silos distributed neatly in the pre-Carolingian scheme, as seen, for instance, in the eighth-century Gospels of Gundohinus, on a field of leafage, zoömorphic and human-headed.[1] The same theme is treated at Lisbon by enclosing four circles in a circle and overlaying them by another which contains the *Agnus Dei*; the four supporting angels outside helping to indicate the place of the page in the canonical series.

A debt, however, there is to the Rioja, not so far away from Castile, apparent in the square-topped heads of San Millán, and a costume, in such scenes as the Musicians before the Image, like the Council figures of the *Albeldensis*, and, more generally, in the massing and movement, a resemblance to the Escorial Beatus. Always, there is a disposition to return upon design. As in the pyramidal crowd at the Second Coming, or the convent of white-stoles below *las ánimas*, so for the Lamb on the Mount, the scheme [2] that represents presumably something like wooded Lebanon is completely symmetrical and its intricate repetition, its fixed alternation of pale and dark, yields an extraordinary pattern, the two halves of the field being countercharged. The dancing figures, five on a side, are symmetrical in their disposition of color but not in their motion.

Marvellous dancing it is, as well as that of the two jongleurs on clogs; but indeed all the Beatus manuscripts are full of ritual and folk dancing.[3] My

[1] The border of the great roundel is ornamented by the half-palmette scroll used at San Pedro de Arlanza near by, and long since recognized as an Arab or Mudéjar motive.

[2] It is a very close adaptation of the scheme of the Escorial Beatus.

[3] Students of folk dancing should profit by all the variety; to suggest only a few: the interlocked arms, the clapping hands, the waving of long sleeves, the crossed legs, and the figure of squatting-and-spring, familiar in Russia and Galicia both.

colleague Dr. Gillet has published some notes on the dancing in Spanish churches and promises more; Beatus sustains him throughout the centuries. Other folk-lore traits may be discerned. If the twelfth-century jaws of Hell are not to be accounted popular, the name cannot be denied to the Hell of Silos. Outside a quatrefoil stands the Weigher of Souls, wingless; a devil tampering with his scales is about to feel his weapon; at the very centre Dives suffers from serpents and bugs and the attention of two devils with pitchforks; the implement of another is stirring up two lovers in bed (Pl. VI). Aucassin and Dante are anticipated here, but the motive as copied was not European and I know no parallel in Western art. It belongs to the Islamic cycle, for with a different context the composition reappears identical long afterwards in a sixteenth-century manuscript of the Shahnameh. The space of nearly three generations had already elapsed between the death of Firdusi and the painting of a Castilian monk, for whom "Saracen" captives, trained artists and literate,[1] were daily companions. To attest this, the cloister capitals and the abbot's miracles are apt in time and place. When at Moissac lust and avarice were to be portrayed it was otherwise. So the folk art of the Middle Ages brought East and West to lie down in hell together.

Some evidence of the witch-cult exists also; in the Romanesque manuscript the Beast is figured one time all too like the monstrous form that presided at the witches' Sabbath;[2] in that of Osma the head and hind quarter of a goat are brought into juxtaposition with *Zezebel Meretrix* the Sorceress and an *Ydolo*; and over in the west, at Lorvão, the Crowned Woman is certainly a witch woman, her spells and magic diagrams filling the air before her. She stands upon the croup of the advancing Beast, rather like a wolf, who is split along the back to show the five heads of those he has devoured — which naïve representation brings us back into the kindly world of folk and fairy tales.[3] The dragon city, set between St. John and Daniel in nearly all the manuscripts, is another vision out of myth or folk tale. Indeed the peasantry and *genre* figures that occur, as in the Vintage (Fig. 16), are pleasantly distinguished, almost pastoral, not only in the parts of León but in the Rylands

[1] In a document signed by Santo Domingo himself, dealing with the reversion of some books to Silos (one of them being Dom Morin's *Liber Comicus*, which is thereby thrown back at least a generation earlier than the accepted date of 1067), among the witnesses one Saracinus signs rather high up the list: G. Morin, *Liber Comicus sive Lectionarius Missae* (Maredsous, 1893), pp. ii sq. So far documents. Firdusi, A.D. 940–1020. It is hazardous to point out that Firdusi, who was born at Tus and flourished at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, except when he visited the Caliph of Bagdad, lived and sang throughout a long life along the great Khorassan Road, on which, as the present writer has tried to show elsewhere, the Moslem and Buddhist East not only could but did send things into Spain.

[2] The Romanesque MS. is associated with Roncesvalles and Dax, in those Basses Pyrenées where witchcraft was flourishing a few centuries later. We know witchcraft went on in the ninth century, for a General Council, that of Ancyra, described in denouncing it; and by the thirteenth it was recognized by the church. Cf. Margaret Murray, *The Witch-cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921), *passim*.

[3] Cf. the *dénouement* of *The Wolf and the Seven Little Kids*.

miniatures, for instance, and that makes one reason for allowing it to a Leonese source.

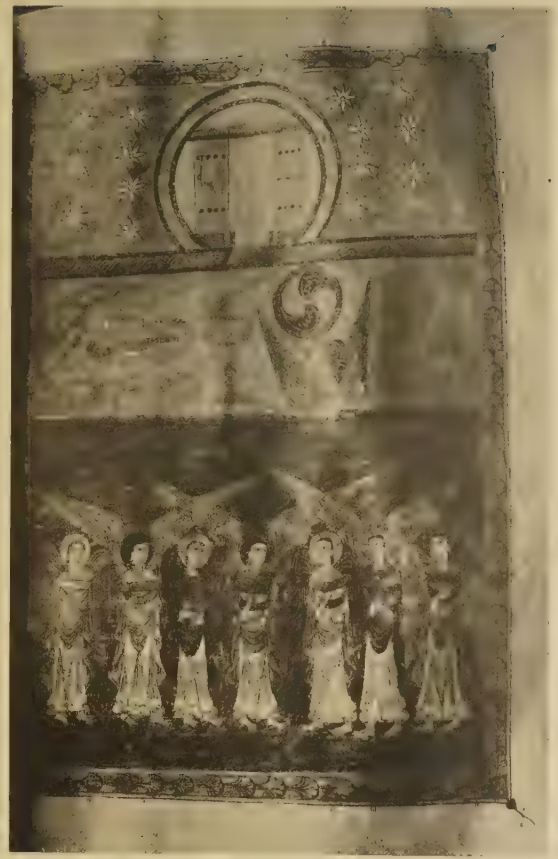
VII

The codex of Silos was the last of the great Mozarabic Apocalypses. How far is all this from Valcavado, how changed the style of the limner, how altered the beauty — for beauty still is dominant — is manifest by now. Mozarabic is ended. After nearly a millenium, European has come back. Two manuscripts of the lineage of Gerona claim consideration; the one that was called Romanesque, the other that was called Gothic. Both are at Paris now.

In the binding of the former was found a document dated 1389, bearing the names of a Bishop of Dax and a Prior of Roncesvalles. Alone this might have no more significance than that a manuscript now lost was signalled at Guadalupe in the sixteenth century, but the style suggests a close relation with France. In a number of instances the miniaturist would seem to have taken stained glass as a point of departure, not merely by the addiction to roundels within the composition, as in the case of the Lamb and tetramorph before cited, but where the angel standing on the sun accosts five birds arranged within five roundels vertically, or where the Four Creatures are packed into four roundels in a sort of basement band under the apocalyptic Lord and the innumerable multitude, or where in a still more typical way two devils crawl off in the corners in which the "signatures" of furriers or statuaries were set for the windows of Chartres. On the double page of the New Jerusalem neither angel, visionary, nor Lamb is to be discerned but the general space is filled by what presents itself as a drawing for a rose window, in which the seated Christ shows a bare shoulder and outstretched arms like a tympanum figure of the twelfth century. The banding of the drapery by heavy contour lines represents the lead-lines of glass, as in the case of another powerful Romanesque Christ, and of the Woman who sits upon the Beast. Almost everywhere the drawing is heavy-weighted and clumsy to the point of caricature, unconscious or even conscious; the limping Beast, lean and avid, the brutalized cavalcade, have been already described. On a fine page of *Burgensis*, however, which depicts the besieging armies of an emperor, horsemen, footmen, and archers, full of movement and admirable in design, the features[1] bear favorable comparison with English and Continental miniature of the epoch; the Spanish realism explains what some have wrongly thought here clumsiness or ill-will, and the dramatic action brings the conception closer to the *rotulus* tradition than to the exquisite daintiness of such quatrefoils as adorn the Bible of St. Louis.

[1] Professor C. R. Morey, publishing the page, *The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, in *The Arts*, VII (1925), p. 315, fig. 9, calls them debased antique.

16. The Vintage (Manchester, The John Rylands Library) XII Century



Mas phot.

18. A Door opened in Heaven (Gerona) X Century

M. Moreno phot.

17. St. John and the Angel (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico) XII Century

All the imagery in the Romanesque manuscript, however, diverges from the traditional whenever opportunity offers, doubtless often unawares, as where burning Babylon looks like an apothecary's cupboard of drug-pots.[1] The eagle is invariably heraldic; the *Mappa Mundi* preserves at one corner a member of that African race who can use the single foot for a sunshade; and quite unexpectedly, Thyatira, who is in reality the fourth of the Churches of Asia, is depicted as a figure both female and respectable, with wimple and mantle, standing between an altar and such a stone pier carved with plait-work as the stone of Cravant. And yet underlying all the clumsiness, the substitution of known and novel imagery for half-forgotten and traditional, the Beatus of Roncesvalles keeps family rights. Limoges with enamels, Poitiers with glass of the twelfth century, lie strung along the road which ran past Roncesvalles into Spain and on which as on a tidal mill-race the swift current flowed both ways. Place of origin will be hard to ascertain: what is material is that this Romanesque and the following Gothic entered Spain on the turn of the epoch, and that they present, incidentally, ineptitude and bungling indeed in one case, but in the other the unreal and dainty charm which was France's contribution, which stands out alongside the *Burgensis*, contemporary but how unlike.[2]

In fact it is not the forms but the spirit which leads one to call this art at its best, in this codex of San Andrés de Arroyo, Gothic, with its fair gardens and *vergers* in which the Lord walks among the birds that are souls, or on which the seventh angel trumpeting releases destruction, or wherein Enoch and Elias are conversing across two tall pricket candlesticks; with its sailboats and shipwrecked travellers; with its crowds at the Second Coming, or at the Triumph of the Lamb; and most of all with the folk upon the long journey to heaven or hell, as various in types and humors as the Canterbury pilgrims. The range of personages, however, is far wider than Chaucer's, including a Moor and a blackamoor, a hermit shaggy in skins, kings, bishops, abbots, women secular and religious, and a local martyr with the sword yet sticking in his throat and the rope coiled neatly about his neck. Moreover, Oriental traits intrude: the central bishop in one procession is blessing after the Eastern manner and a lady further down the line is worshipping with the uplifted and opened palms that are to be seen with the same frequency in Catalan painting as in the mosques of Constantinople. Hell-mouth, as in the Rylands manuscript, gapes literal and monstrous, being indeed design of a high order, and has room for a turning wheel of torture and a group of naked souls in flames.

[1] Paris, N. A. Lat. 1366, fol. 135. Indeed one might compare the *botica de los Templarios* at South Kensington, which is just such an open cupboard; and one in a barber-shop, Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10.

[2] The reason for this difference may be found in a curious bit of history. See Appendix, Note III, based on the account of San Andrés in Bishop Almaraz's essay on the convent already cited, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210 sqq.

The Hells of Gerona and St.-Sever and Silos, of Rylands and San Andrés, are all unlike, but only in the last is the comic intent unmistakable.

Indeed the caricature of all the devils and all the villeins of the last-named manuscript and Roncesvalles and *Burgensis*, taken in conjunction with the apparent subjection of these to French influence, denotes the appearance of a new point of view along with the feudal system. From the Arab wandering in his desert to the serf limping and stumbling in his master's train the way is long, and some of the stages are registered in these manuscripts Romanesque and Gothic.

Canonical themes here are few: the River of Life, the circular Glorification of the Lamb among the Four Creatures and the viols and the vials, the New Jerusalem with angel and St. John and *Agnus Dei*, are by no means the only ones but are the most striking, with an odd device in the last of framing the various mansions and the central pavement by a metal-work design inlaid with the precious stones required by the text. The Christ among the Candlesticks, that except in the Valcavado group — therein ranging Gerona — tends to constitute a grotesque, survives in the canon. Only Egas in Portugal found for this a new form in following a new formula, and with *naïveté* arrived at decoration. The Second Coming of San Andrés looks back to Gerona. It must be said, however, explicitly, that the whole Gothic Beatus might have been produced in a scriptorium listening to such a *Painter's Guide* as Didron unearthed at Mt. Athos, derived from that branch of the Valcavado stem which Gerona claims; here is less variance, unaware or conscious, than in the codex of Roncesvalles. The essential difference is in the temper which, for example, gives up a whole page to the double line of kings and merchants (Revelation xviii, 9 and 15) and presents them like clerestory figures from French windows, mannered, elongated, linear, over-expressive, engaging past all telling.

The patterning already divined in the Silos codex, insistent though lovely in the *Burgensis*,[1] here dominates the entire manuscript, for the backgrounds and garments alike are *semée* with stars or with little triangles of dots. One looks at the page as through falling snow. The whole is like a Christmas card by Walter Crane, being really far more like his work, always in its essence decorative, than like Burne-Jones's. And by this formula we come back, manifestly, to the original equation of Gothic-at-second hand. Almost purely European, however, are these designs, in marked contradistinction to the strong oriental strain in *Burgensis*, and in the special decorative quality they are not closely related either to the scriptorium of Cîteaux or to the school of Cardeña. Indeed if we might judge by the beauty of the semblance of

[1] Cf., for instance, the Woman on the Beast: W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, III*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), fig. 21.

Toledo pictured on the *Mappa Mundi* and the significant omission of St. James therefrom, and take into account the persistent report and Morales' testimony[1] of at least one Beatus codex long kept on at Toledo, with all the Mozarabic there not only traditional but still continuous, and the new fresh tang of Gothic in the air, we must concede that the manuscript also of San Andrés should have been copied for the nuns at Toledo, presumably in the days of Ferdinand the Saint, while the cathedral was in building.

VIII

The school of Cardeña is entitled to a study apart and must wait for that.[2] There a deacon called Gómez played perhaps the same rôle as Florencio on the Arlanza at Baleránica farther west. Later on, long after the Cid had endowed the abbey and come back to be buried there at last as the eleventh century was closing, and after Alfonso VIII and his English Queen Doña Leonor had founded and dowered splendidly Las Huelgas, the old Castilian monastery of Cardeña was drawn into the circle of the fresh influence, for the so-called Bible of Burgos, which was written there, is in the new manner, like the Rylands manuscript and the *Burgensis* and that from San Andrés de Arroyo, and the ruined codex at the Museo Arqueológico. The question naturally arises, how much are the Cistercians to count for?

The situation is curious but rather simple. In 1098 the "New Monastery" was established at Cîteaux, of which Stephen Harding, a Dorsetshire Benedictine, was one of the founders; he wanted a better text of the Scriptures, consulted learned Rabbins, and in 1109 saw finished the famous painted Bible which goes by his name. In 1112 St. Bernard came and everything went quicker, the manuscripts grew steadily more beautiful, until in 1125 St. Bernard in the heat of controversy pronounced his famous denunciation of "histories" and grotesques. That leaves only about thirty years for a whole exquisite art to come into flowering and then be mowed down. The scriptorium worked on, for the new abbeys which were springing up everywhere had to have a complete set of books, authorized and identical.[3]

M. Oursel believes that the prohibition was faithfully observed; I am not so sure, knowing that Egas at Lorvão, when copying Beatus' *Commentaries*, drew from Cistercian miniatures, employed indeed a style founded on that of

[1] "Esta libro está en la Iglesia mayor de Toledo de letra Gothica." *Viaje*, p. 95. Cf. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[2] Noting, however, that Cardeña once possessed an early copy of the Beatus. Padre Fr. Lope de Frias said of the Abbot Cyprian (c. 940), "He had the book of the Apocalypse written and other books which are now to be seen tattered in the library." F. Berganza, *Antigüedades de España* (Madrid, 1721), I, 214.

[3] St. Stephen Harding's Charter of Charity had already required an exact conformity; the Statutes of the Chapters General, codified in 1134, in Title III, under the rubric "What books it is forbidden to have unlike," had enumerated the Missal, the Epistles, the *text* (= Bible), the Book of Collects, the Gradual, the Antiphonary, the Rule, the Hymnal, the Psalter, the Lectionary, the Calendar. It is comprehensive.

Cîteaux; for it is not a question now of copying given pictures, but of inventing new illustrations. In the border of the frontispiece[1] to St. Gregory's *Morals of Job* may be seen the quaint plant-forms that Egas adapted for his vision of Enoch and Elias; in the long, slim figures of St. Jerome's *Letters*, the *Moralia*, the last volume of Stephen Harding's Bible, may be found the draperies which he adjusted to the elder style of the text that he had before him. Indeed he seems to have been neither illiterate nor unskilled; he was familiar with Romanesque miniature as well as Cistercian. His problem was: Given the text of Beatus, Romanesque to copy, and the Cistercian style as exemplified in some other work, what to do? He drew his designs by the pure lineal silhouette, then filled in the ground with color, leaving the figures reserved, like certain enamels. That he should not have known the Valcavado canon is not strange in the circumstances, and details in his style point directly to a half-French tradition, toward St.-Sever and Roncesvalles. He simplifies wherever possible and brings to mind Blake precisely because the outlines, the elongations, are concessions to material imperfection in bodying forth a new conception. With some other subject-matter, a hard-won skill would have given his hand liberty.

Lorvão was "founded" 1185, the charter being indeed dated 1183.[2] Cardinal Pitra throws light on the predicament, publishing a letter addressed by Innocent III to the Bishop and Dean of Zamora and the Abbot of Moreruela. It seems that the King of Portugal had violently evicted the monks from St. Mamed of Lorvão, in the diocese of Coimbra, and put in his daughter with some nuns, the former abbot without the consent and will of the convent turning it over to the King, which he had no right to do. The case between the deplorably ejected monks and the King is still going on (Oct. 24, 1206) and the Pope's intention is that it shall not be tried in the civil courts.[3] Meanwhile the princess-abbess, coming into occupancy of a deserted scriptorium, does the best she can with Egas.

Egas was an Arab name before it was Portuguese. The monkish painter at Lorvão is at his best when drawing on his Oriental heritage. True, the oddest things have caught his fancy: the ironmongery of horses' bits and the nails in horseshoes, the carpentry and morticing of a good chair, pricket candlesticks and a lamp-stand of seven lights, the entomology of locusts, the movement of fish swimming in a shoal, the successive poses of a horse pacing, trotting, and galloping, the aspect of a figure close-wrapped in a mantle as though he had

[1] Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII.

[2] Angel Manrique, *op. cit.*, III, 162. The Lisbon archives, called Torre do Tombo, received from the friars of Lorvão, along with this and some other manuscripts, a Hercolano (in two colors, red and yellow), an Ordinary (Divine Office) of the Order of Cîteaux, and St. Augustine on the Psalms, written for St. Mamed of Lorvão in the time of King Alfonso in the days of Abbot John, 1183 (D'Azevedo, *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 74–76).

[3] J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solmesensis, altera continuatio I* (Frascati, 1885), pp. 519–520.

no arms. The apocalyptic Beasts he reduced to terms of experience of the wolf kind, or else, if seven-headed, resolved into the silhouette of a fine horse seen against a sapling tree. Yet when he comes to the tetramorph, the heads of ox and lion reveal acquaintance with the ultimately Persian tradition of the canon (cf. Pl. IV). From Persia he had by way of the Western Caliphate received a palmette form (Pl. II) that is recorded in the *Hispalensis*; and used it for better and for worse whenever occasion served, for example, in the trumpeting of the Four Winds; and a few times, for the more solemnity, remembered the horseshoe arch. Of dramatic grouping he is incapable though he can bring a pair of figures into a ritual juxtaposition, or arrange a line of them interrelated by nods and becks. Yet when this is granted, and all the *naïveté* of the plain people, we must end in recognition of subtle equilibriums, of lineal beauties, in delight before the pure design, with a state of mind very different from the charity for which he prayed so gently as he ended, wearily enough[1]—*Jam liber est scriptus—Qui scripsit sit benedictus—Era MCCXXI —Egae Egas: qui hunc librum scripsi, si in aliquibus a recto tramiti exivi, deliquenti indulgeat Karitas que omnia superat — Amen.*

At the heart of Castile, within the next ten years, Las Huelgas was acquiring manuscripts from Cîteaux undoubtedly, for the dates are sure: the Papal Bull was given in 1187, the convent was occupied in 1189, and formally established as a house of Cistercians in 1199.[2] Within another twenty years it possessed the Beatus codex which Flórez used.[3] And those who know what power inhered in the Abbess of Las Huelgas, what more than manly independence of action, what authentic majesty and unbridled dominion, will not feel surprise. In 1220 the Abbess was either Doña Sancha, of the blood royal of Aragon, or Doña Costanza, a king's daughter, a queen's sister, and aunt of the young King Ferdinand who was to be called the Saint and who in the preceding November had there by the Abbess been armed a knight. Her power could be limited only by the laws of nature and the acts of God, but it cannot be invoked to account for the other manuscripts which are under consideration and which belong in the same group, for they were mostly finished in the twelfth century, and the Gothic of San Andrés has little in common with Cîteaux. In truth Cîteaux had a very characteristic style in the twelfth century, and except for the Lisbon codex, the lost one from La Espina, and perhaps some Catalan miniatures like the Vich *Morals of Gregory*, it cannot be

[1] Claudio Botelou y Soldevilla, *Estudio de la Miniatura Española desde el Siglo X al XIX*, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XIV (1906), 25–27; Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[2] As the Spanish proverb says, there is a cat in there. The Cistercian suzerainty comes, according to various accounts, from twelve to twenty years after the foundation, whereas at Carracedo the King and the Abbot laid the first stone of a new church on October 16, in 1138, and the royal donations were signed in Toledo the 6th of November; note, however, that Innocent III was confirming the union of that convent with Cîteaux, he being at Anagni, in November and December of 1203 (Pitra, *op. cit.*, 496–497).

[3] Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 210.

easily discovered in Spain. The question then becomes; Is this the English style of Winchester asserting itself in Castile, as, long before, at San Millán, first in the Escorial codices and then in the Osma Beatus, was seen the Anglo-Saxon style asserting itself?

Historically, the suggestion is plausible. Doña Leonor, who was married to Alfonso VIII in 1169, was an English princess, the daughter of that Henry II who took a special interest in the abbey of New Minster at Winchester, so that English manuscripts might well come into Spain with the rest of her dowry. Her own relations with England seem to have remained unbroken; after the death and canonization of Thomas à Becket she was building a chapel under his advocation at Toledo cathedral [1] about as soon as William of Sens was planning the same thing at Canterbury; and the cathedral of Cuenca, in which she and the king were jointly concerned, runs a rarely English silhouette against the Spanish sky. So far so good. Now if an English influence enters into the Castilian style in these twelfth-century Beatus manuscripts, in what will it consist?

Two or three traits may be distinguished which seem to characterize the English school of the eleventh and twelfth century, and of Winchester in particular: one, the incurable childishness of the faces and in especial that of God Almighty, which already in the Osma Beatus and the Oviedo *Libro de los Testamentos* is undeniable and in Winchester is much the same; another, the dwarfish stature and proportions not of the minor personages only but in some odd way of all mortality, and this shows up well in the Gascon manuscript of St.-Sever, though Gascony was not to be English for another century; and the third is that everyone is apt to be in a hurry. All these traits stare back at one from certain pages of the fragments at the Museo Arqueológico, on which the pale tinting seems English also. The childish figures lend unusual charm to Daniel's scene by the river in a set of manuscripts, among them Albino's (as in fol. 268), and the crossed legs and turning movement of the related Apocalypse at Paris have already been specified. A plausible belief that the line-work of eleventh-century English drawing in pale tints on a white field would become, when employed in a mosaic of strong color, the lead-lines so characteristic at Osma and Oviedo, is hindered by the fact that such lines are stronger and more like the Spanish in some Cistercian passages.[2]

On the other hand, these imitative additaments are hardly noticeable, for the most part, in face of the actual paintings, which look so much more like Gerona and like Silos. In them all the background convention is breaking

[1] Fita, *Elogio de la Reina . . . Doña Leonor de Inglaterra*, pp. 10, 18. Santo Tomás Cantuariense, in Salamanca, 1175, is said to be a Portuguese foundation (Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos, Salamanca*, p. 92) and indeed after the death of Alfonso VII Salamanca had gone to León and Queen Leonor had no place there ever.

[2] For the plaited kilt which in the two manuscripts just cited serves so well the illuminator's end, cf. Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, XXVI, 1.

down, with clustered dots and even tiny crescents powdered over the field, as they are in Silos, or, as in Rylands, with a disposition toward vertical banding asserting itself, which usually emerges as frank quartering, and a heraldic use of gold, or gold and silver.

About the Rylands manuscript there is much to say which is impracticable till *Burgensis* shall have been published. This much, however, may be noted: that the color, from which the importance has evaporated, is often heavy and rather common-looking, but the drawing is vital, so that every fold, every *cabochon* [1] which represents a high light, has its *raison d'être*. The art is growing more Gothic in sentiment, with the harvesters in the Vintage episode or (fol. 51) where, against a field divided vertically blue and yellow, the Woman is set upon a pacing steed and moving toward a date-palm, cup uplifted, dressed in white with green tunic, ivory-white mantle, and green veil — all the color rendered like a grisaille — and here in the poetic quality the context is lost completely. She might be carrying the Grail.

Completely impressionistic technique appears — amongst others — in the Madrid fragment at the Museo Arqueológico with its pure fresh color, carmine, sky-blue, leaf-green (Fig. 17). The white draperies are shaded with red and blue and greenish-grey parallel lines, and, in certain miniatures, the enormous oval *cabochon* from pure white shades through changing hues back to the local color, thence, by parallel curved drapery-lines shaded similarly, into the deepest tones. It is much the same device as El Greco used in his *Apostolados*. Elsewhere, in the great scenes like the Locusts, Hell's Chivalry, the Hunting of the Beast, some of the animals are shaded up to white and in others the yellow fleece or fell is shaded with red up to silver [2] for the high lights.

It should have been said that all the manuscripts in this category abound in cusped arches, some of them the wide expanded cinquefoil like the triforium of Toledo, others a sort of pendulous cusping that recalls Mudéjar ornament. The horseshoe arch alternates and combines with good and with bad Romanesque round-headed windows, and in the Roncesvalles manuscript the horseshoe arch is copied but misunderstood and comes out a military loophole for archers. Except in traditional passages like Babylon, the New Jerusalem, and the Seven Churches, the architecture is rather perfunctory but in the main retains its essential veracity. Later on, the thirteenth-century Gothic manuscript betrays an essential comprehension of Romanesque church-building: depicting now (f. 132 v.) a low, broad-roofed parish church, three-aisled, in the style of Poitou, with a western tower; again (f. 100) for the

[1] This amusing convention, which is not in the least English, may also be observed on certain pages of the Museo Arqueológico codex, the Bible of Burgos, and elsewhere.

[2] The lavish use of gold and in especial of silver in the manuscripts of this group is probably another oriental trait: we read that at a great burning of books in Bagdad, in 923, gold and silver ran out of the flaming pyre (Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

Temple the Cluniac architecture of the powerful abbeys with redoubled towers flanking the façade and a central lantern rising into view, while a trefoiled portal stands open to show the Ark of the Holy Sepulchre topped with the double-barred cross; and where Babylon burns, with enchanting ingenuity the Eastern palace forms have been modified and manipulated till they too are southern Romanesque like a castle-church.

The persistence of certain canonical representations through all mutations of the style is extraordinary: for instance, the circular composition with the Lamb at the centre and radiating out from Him the quartets of Evangelist, vial-bearer, viol-player, and prostrate worshipper; it is like the persistence of certain Virgins, the *Blacherniotissa*, the *Madonna del Popolo*, the Virgin of Rocamadour. Professor Neuss has remarked on the page with Daniel and the lions below, Habbakuk and the angel above; and in the scene of Daniel by the river we have watched, in the miniatures of the Academia de la Historia, a new canon come into being. Not only the burning of Babylon, but the River of Life with the elders in their little lodges,[1] or the Throne on a disk in the centre and the double row of elders, or the double page with argument on one side and dancing on the other — these and others recur throughout all the groups and all the centuries till the twelfth is ended. On the other hand some episodes are never the same twice: the Four Winds unleashed, the birds which are *las ánimas*, the fall of a great city where men lie dead in the ruins, or Revelation i, 7–20. If one knew the wherefore of this unstable equilibrium when often the prototype discarded seemed excellent, and this unaccountable contentment with something at times rather dull, one would know something important about religious art, not Christian only. To follow up the obvious conjecture that the persistent imagery is directly founded on great known monuments, would be to launch into archaeology, which was expressly exempted. For the same reason the diverting ingenuity with which old themes are adapted to new subjects, the Ascension to the Second Coming for instance, and the Epiphany to the Woman receiving Kings, cannot be here pursued. And furthermore, for this if for no other reason the Oriental question must be left.

But indeed down to the end the Oriental part is plain even to the meanest observer, not merely in temper, not merely in detail like the painting of trees or slim soft-bodied Moslem horsemen in turbans (Pl. V), but in the beasts with their shaggy fells or the mark of a rosette or other device upon the flank. The movement of the huge creatures is as understood, as rendered, as on Assyrian hunting slabs. A fresh wave of Eastern influence washes in at the last moment.

[1] For the version of Maius, see W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, III*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), Fig. 20.

One element, however, conspicuous in these later miniatures, is in some sense a return upon the archaic — a growing pleasure in the strictly formal pattern of a row of separate standing figures. It is present in the subtle rhythms of Osma (ff. 134 and 157 v., or 136) in rows like the long file of virgins in S. Apollinare; but these figures here are neither frontal nor symmetrical. Elsewhere, we may reckon from Gerona on down and find, where the theme is identical throughout, as for instance three angels among the stars (Revelation xiv, 6–8) or the Lamb on the Mount, that the array is symmetrical and centralized, like the statues about a cathedral door. Statues were never copied from these, nor they indeed from statues; the composition is not plastic but pictorial, and the constituent units are inseparable in their tensions and symmetries, and it goes back to a wall-decoration, and is not Asiatic for its exists in space. This word *space* must be taken relatively, of course, for against the strong colors of the ground the figures are like enamel, even where their technique shows, in the draperies, impressionism. The heraldic quartering of the field, the consistent blazoning of the devices, is an Eastern factor. Indeed the very art of heraldry is said to have come from the East at the time of the Crusades. But if the eye is steeped in illusionism and the idea held steadily, on comparison of this sequence with that of Valcavado the distinction may be discerned here with certitude.

IX

Taking stock now, it appears that we have in Spain a four-hundred-year set of manuscripts absolutely dated and located, falling into earlier and later and, once begun, undergoing very few European influences, — if there were space to analyze the decoration it would alter nothing, simply confirm — but from the non-Christian East successively washed over by fresh waves recurring, as spring comes round recurrently. The share of the East has been for the most part neglected here, in some degree because it would double the length of the paper, more because it must wait till *Burgensis* is published. It will doubtless be said, not unjustly, that the part of Hamlet is left out: admitted. These are only divagations.

Conceivably the reader has recognized another omission — the subject-matter. These miniatures are illustrations. In intention they bear as directly upon the life of man, his origin and destiny, as Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes on ceiling and wall; the text which they accompany and enforce was used much like Professor Robinson's *Mind in the Making* or Mr. Osborne's *Passing of the Great Race*, or, to choose an example as literature more comparable and in spirit rising likewise into the empyrean, Professor Whitehead's little treatise on Religion. From that also might be selected a few homilies to read at a

sacred hour to the white-vested neophyte.[1] As illustrator the painter solves his problem, without discarding all representation, by symbolic conventions, abstract devices like deformation and color-mosaic, and complete insistence on intense and formal color. Whether and how far he succeeds — the whole consideration of content — must be deferred to a more convenient season.

The miniatures, however, constituted the most important body of Spanish painting during nearly half a millenium. What do they prove? They represent the struggle of an art of representation, always symbolical and highly mystical, with pure pattern and color unintellectualized. So much is sure.

We have been long used to admit, under the affirmations and implications of art-historians, that the Spaniards were not colorists; so that in facing the rose-and-jade of Borassá we wrote it down for a debt to Italy; and in facing the metallic blues, the hard leaf-greens, the subdued and goodly crimsons of Gallegos, we wrote it down for a debt to Flanders; and even, with the courage of our credulities, before the blue sashes, the red hair-ribbons, and the heavy long purples constituting drapery for Velázquez we underwrote it all as the only real right palette for a respectable artist. Nay more, finding Velázquez's genius at its best in an art of pure tone, we had even the effrontery to cite tone as "color" if for the nonce we must have him a colorist, because by definition every great artist is a colorist.[2]

One other Spanish painter lived, however, between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, Domenico Theotocopuli. Born in Crete, trained in Greece where dome-frescoes like those of Mistra already anticipated all his tones and modulations of color, practising in Venice where the memory of an early school of Greek masters may still be traced in a few perishing vestiges and where he could inherit from Tintoretto enough to offset what he learned from Bassano, El Greco came to Toledo. Was it the soil, the light, the temper of the people that he recognized like one coming back to his native country and his own natural home? There he lived and died, the most Spanish of painters.

His problem was identical with that of Beatus: Given a narrative and a dogma, required to produce a state of feeling. His solution was, of course, moving color, moving form; the colors changeable like Tintoretto's, like Watteau's and Claude Monet's; the forms flexible, in that unstable equilibrium we may call baroque, heightened by all sorts of tensions within the composition. The color he further complicated by artificiality of lighting, the form he further modulated by deformations and by two or three superimposed distinguishable patterns of design — sometimes one of line, a second of chiaroscuro, a third of color, within the one picture; the intention of all these devices being unreality, an escape from representation. For the reader,

[1] Need it be said that Mr. H. G. Wells and Professor J. H. Robinson are both apocalyptic?

[2] The above account of painting is abstracted from the accepted handbooks, not of course admitted by the present writer.

to recall a canvas and not a photograph is to recognize that color, and in especial colored light, is the dominant.

Another trait, however, emerges in certain pictures so constituted that the canvas is, as said before, a plenum. This he shares with a good deal of oriental miniature painting. The Paris Crucifixion exemplifies it, and it is equally plain in a Holy Family (now in this country) seen against waste land and clouds. The group of personages is a plastic unit, without interstices, and earth and sky are welded on to this so that the unit is conterminous with the frame. There is no "air" in the picture, there is no unoccupied space, there is no crack to put a knife-blade between body and background, between cloud-edge and blue sky. This is the color-mosaic of Beatus come back again.

Its next appearance is in Arles. Take Van Gogh's portrait of an ugly little man in a straw hat against a bright blue wall, or Cézanne's wife in a striped petticoat against a patterned wall-paper; the mosaic again! The Fleming and the Frenchman are admissible here as witnesses because Spanish painting had been essential and causal in France since Edouard Manet's day. One is tempted to urge that in the case of Van Gogh the strange identity of his color-mosaic with that of Beatus is due to the same ultimate cause, is the outcome of the shock when North meets South, even as when the aftermath of Visogothic came into contact with Moslem, and Mozarabic was born.

In the color-mosaic, here, because the Academies had pumped the color out of painting and left the understanding of color in men's minds at low ebb, there becomes apparent a struggle to substitute a mosaic of mass, and Cézanne agonizes. For the great Spaniards who were Cubists, Picasso and Juan Gris, form supersedes color entirely, though the formula still stands of the plenum, of interpenetrant masses in a mosaic, and the want of color is the reason why they have so little loveliness. Only in Picasso's work the ancestral claim of color enforces itself, and gives us the "blue" period. Lastly, on the east coast, Anglada awakens to the ecstasy of pure color-pattern vaporous and jewelled, a mosaic of tinted light.

If this is true, — and logically it should be because it explains so much that is otherwise inexplicable, — then the Spanish temper by virtue of its Eastern strain demands color as a major condition, without which it suffers frustration and unfulfillment.

How then about Velázquez? A very great genius is his, with the impersonality which is one of the stigmata of frustration. Does the sensitive spectator, if in Bishop Berkeley's phrase "undebauched by reason," find in him the supreme satisfaction? Ask Dr. Meier-Graefe. Or, better, walk back from the Velázquez rooms in the Prado to those of Titian, who found a final satisfaction in his epoch, in his art, in the coincidence of his inheritance, his temper, and his opportunity. Michelangelo would serve as well for an instance since,

though his disposition was not cheerful and his commissions were rarely completed, his work shows no unfulfillment.

From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, from before Pacheco till after Goya, Spanish painting was dominated by the Italian ideal, overmastered and completely absorbed. It is a commonplace that when we speak of painting in France between Louis XII and Louis XV we must deplore the imposition of Italian taste upon French people, and recognize that the Judgment of God for the Italian Wars was the French Renaissance. Must we yield the same recognition, the same regret, for Spain? Was, after all, the Siglo de Oro a calamity?

APPENDIX

Note I. Dom Férotin says, in describing the Copenhagen manuscript of Apringius of Béja, written in the time of the Visigothic King Theudis (531–548) but preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript: "Disons aussi que beaucoup de mots sont marqués de l'accent tonique, circonstance qui n'est pas commune dans les manuscrits de ce genre." This he illustrates in a note, continuing: "Peut-être pourrait-on conclure de cette particularité que le commentaire d'Apringius était lu dans l'assemblée des fidèles. Tout au moins semble-t-il qu'on l'avait accentué dans le but d'en rendre la lecture publique (probablement la lecture liturgique) plus aisée à un lecteur peu instruit dans la langue latin." As Dom Férotin was the final authority on Mozarabic liturgies, this should be conclusive for Apringius.

About the liturgy, a brief explanation may not come amiss. In the Mozarabic Rite, as in the Gallican which Neale believed to be derived from it,[1] there were three "lessons" at Mass, one from the prophets (or the Sapiential books or occasionally from other parts of the Old Testament), one from the epistles, and one from the Gospel: but on certain days for the prophets is substituted the Apocalypse. In the Mozarabic Mixed Missal of Toledo, compiled *c.* 1500 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXV) the three Lessons of Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel appear likewise and from Easter to Pentecost there are no Old Testament Lessons, and the Apocalypse is substituted. Among the other occasions when the Apocalypse is read seem to be the feasts of Holy Cross, — its Invention, Triumph, and Exaltation, — Michaelmas, and All Saints' Day. In the Mozarabic Breviary (Migne, *op. cit.*, LXXXVI) the portions appointed for Eastertide are the same, excepting for Ascension Day, which has a Lesson out of Daniel equally apocalyptic; Michaelmas has also a Lesson from Daniel.[2] The Invention of the Cross has Revelation xxi of course, but for the other two feasts of Holy Cross and for All Saints' I cannot find special choir-offices in Lorenzana's Breviary. However, it is apparent that in the sixteenth century the Apocalypse was less relished than in the seventh. Dom Férotin, when he published the Mozarabic Sacramentary, omitted the Scripture text because Dom Morin had already published the *Liber Comes*, but he says (p. xix), speaking generally of the Mozarabic manuscripts, especially in the tenth and eleventh century, "at certain great feasts the Mass is so complete that you find not only all the Scripture Lessons but even the traditional sermon which followed the Gospel and which up to then they had been content to borrow from the Homilary." Elsewhere (col. 683) he speaks of the Homilaries which the Mozárabes were able to use for their reading in the day and night offices; and of the occurrence, in a Toledan

[1] J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes, *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, (1855), p. vii: "The Mozarabic is the original from which the compilers of the following services have borrowed."

[2] Hence copied with Beatus's Apocalypse for liturgical reading.

Lectionary, of a Life of San Millán divided into liturgical lessons, *ut possit in missae eius celebritate legi*. These passages will explain the presumed use of Apringius and Beatus. Anyone looking into the Roman Breviary of today may see these little expositions strung along after the Scripture lessons still, and understand the employment of suitable material at an appropriate moment in the Mozarabic Office which, as Dom Férotin loved to insist, was never rigid nor invariable except in the Canon of the Mass.

Note II. In speaking of the manuscript at the Academia de la Historia "English pilgrim" was said rather than "English manuscript" because only about four miniatures are good, and then, as happens with teacher and pupils, the style breaks down while the formulas persist. That special countenance, however, characteristic of the innovation, youthful and very engaging, is to reappear at the conclusion of the whole series. Such design as certain pages in Osma is another story, really much closer to the Winchester school and accountable as what Martín, if he was genius as well as sinner, might have got out of an English manuscript, adapting it to his intention. The history of New Minster in Dugdale offers a possibility of contact at three points. Members of the Community might be wandering far in the world: (1) in 963 when the secular canons of King Egbert were expelled, their place being taken by Benedictines from Abingdon under an abbot who was something of an *arriviste* and ended as Archbishop of Canterbury; (2) in the interregnum that lasted more or less from 1088 to 1100, when after the abbot had fought for Harold at Senlac with twelve monks and twenty soldiers behind him, the abbey was very evilly entreated under William I and William II. At the former epoch Valcavado was flourishing and there was little to bring outlanders into the Tierra de Campos, nor on the miniatures of Emeterius, Ende, and Senior blows any wind from Ultima Thule. At the close of the eleventh century, however, the Way of St. James was a well-travelled road; there were new conquests and new foundations with My Cid Ruy Díaz in the field; abbeys like Sahagun were setting up church and cloister and scriptorium. The news must have spread pretty widely, and the drift of unemployment included the nobler crafts. Lastly (3) in the civil wars of Stephen the abbey of Hyde (New Minster) was burned, 1141, and Bishop Henri de Blois being accused of the burning had to go to Rome to clear himself, confronted by the Abbot, Hugh of Lens, who was backed by St. Bernard himself. At the papal court were Spanish dignitaries in plenty and valuable manuscripts might easily change hands to good effect. About migration of manuscripts it is rash to dogmatize, safer either to present evidence or to show cause. Valcavado offers a good case of stability, Tábara of presumptive migration from the Esla tower to Burgos and thence to Liébana. After all, Alcuin had to come to Tours to naturalize the Anglo-Saxon style in France, and Theodulf to Fleury for the establishment of a text of Scripture. The Empress Theophana and Doña Leonor may both have been carrier pigeons, but the case sticks at a *may be*. The great collectors of manuscripts whether abbots or princes are pretty well known both before and after the Renaissance; the tale of their treasure can be checked up. Tailhan took an interest in the matter, more than half a century ago; if some one again would do a piece of work on it, we should all profit.

Note III. That the Cistercian convent of San Andrés de Arroyo was founded earlier than Las Huelgas is certain. The first Abbess, the Countess Doña Mencía, seems to have been a kinswoman of Alfonso VIII, who not only phrased his documents to express respect and affection but named her in his will as one of his four executors along with an archbishop, a bishop, and his chamberlain, with plenary powers to make alterations if needful. She was a very great lady. She founded San Andrés in 1181, and she built the church and convent that

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL of the PACIFIC LIBRARY

still sleep among the hills westward of the Pisuerga, in the beautiful half-Romanesque style that marks the end of the twelfth century. Lampérez believed that the same workmen labored here and at Las Huelgas. She had the power of "gibbet and axe," of life and death within the domain. But the English Queen meanwhile was founding her abbey at Burgos and intending that it should be the head of all the Cistercian nuns in Castile and León. Within two years of the expending of the Papal bull for Las Huelgas a Chapter General of the Order was called in 1186 to which Doña Mencía had to come. About all this the Cistercian Angel Manrique is discreet and regrettably vague. (See *Annales Cistercienses*, III, 200, 224, and Index.) Amador de los Ríos, in his essay for *Monumentos Arquitectónicos*, makes fairly plain the resentment and insubmission that resisted the Queen and Doña Misol, the Abbess, apparently for ten years. So Doña Mencía, who did not die till 1227, turned elsewhere for her copy of Beatus' Apocalypse, as the miniature shows. No wonder Ferdinand III saw fit to call her in 1219, "venerable and most dear to me, lady and countess Mencía"; she was not likely to be so appeased. She must have been an alarming old lady; the young king says: "é por ruego de nuestra amiga Doña Mencía, onrada condesa que siempre amamos é por sus merecimientos de lealdad facemos carta de donacion a Dios, al monasterio de Sant Andrés de Arroyo é a bos Doña Mencía condesa é abadesa."

See Enrique Almaraz, *Real Monasterio de San Andrés de Arroyo* (*Palencia*), in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210 sqq., and Vicente Vignau, *Documentos del Monasterio de S. Andrés de Arroyo, ibid.*, pp. 229 sqq.

Note IV. In the matter of Maius of S. Michael's abbey, and his pupil Emeterius, I conceive the truth to be about as follows.

E. S. Baldwin (*op. et loc. cit.*) reads the *Burgensis* copy of the Tábara colophon so as to make the master of Emeterius a pupil of Maius. I think he is wrong. If not, the interpolation of another generation would throw the date of Maius so far back as to confirm Dom Ramsay's ninth-century interpretation (*op. cit.*, p. 9) of the epilogue to the Ashburnham-Morgan manuscript. My colleague Dr. Ballou, admiring the beautiful calligraphy of the passage (with its tall *i*) is disposed to recognize ninth-century script, moreover.

There is no disputing that he there signed himself Maius on f. 233v., and before that on f. 293r. In the Tábara passage Blázquez (*op. cit.*, p. 260), and everyone else thereafter, reads Magi. Here the name occurs, both times, unfortunately, in the genitive case, and may stand for one named Magus, Magius, or even Maius, since Menéndez Pidál says clearly (*Origenes del Español* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 56, 64–65) that the old Spanish system uses *g* with the value of *y* or *j* and that *i* and *g* are very often confused, his instances showing usually a substitution of *g* for *i*. It is then more likely that Maius is the original and correct form. P. Villada, dependent of course on those, non-Spanish, who have seen the MS., sets down (*Paleográfia Española* (Madrid, 1923), p. 105), "No. 74 . . . año 894 escrito por Mayo", and for the other, "No. 109 . . . entre 968 y 70, copiado por Magius y Emeterius" (*op. cit.*, p. 118).

The substance of what Emeterius has to say is this: *O virum vere Beatum*, etc. . . . Beatus would have wanted to see the book properly finished; Maius was an honourable and preeminent painter, and when he had barely begun his work went to be forever with Christ, so they sent for me whom he had taught and I worked all summer, since for his mastery my master deserved to be thus crowned with Christ. Amen. *O turre Tabarense alta et lapidea*, etc. . . .

Maius, then, had just begun work on the Tábara Apocalypse when he died; he was probably old. Of the six pictures which have survived in the ruin of the manuscript, he manifestly painted one, the scene in Daniel, v, 5, of the Writing on the Wall, which is too close to his

earlier version to be by another hand. It took two years to find someone else to complete the manuscript; Emeterius finished it in the very year that Oveco was signing that of the Abbot Sempronius at Valcavado. The difference in style (within the limits of the manner of Valcavado) is striking and instructive. Emeterius was either old himself, formed in the style that his old and honoured master had practised for forty years and more, while Oveco, open to new influences, represents a rival group in the scriptorium; or else he was rather young but devoted to the master whom he calls "simply topping" (*archipictor*), and this seems the more probable, since he was susceptible, at Castañeda, to the potency of another tradition. His next work was after five years. Certainly the version, in the Gerona Beatus, of Daniel v, 5, was painted by Emeterius; and the form of the Hand that Wrote is repeated in that manuscript at least twice more, so that the scene of the Fifth Seal (Revelation vi, 9–12) gives something secure for comparison in sorting out those that worked thereupon. Other illuminations of his are the Church of Thyatira, and the page (Revelation xix, 1–10) where the Elders adore the Throne; unquestionably, also, the House of Hades. At Castañeda Emeterius was subjected to completely new conventions of countenance and costume, and he adopted these and a new type for angels' wings; the faces grow longer and squarer, the indication of the ankle-bone (intermittent with Maius) develops daintily, and he learns to draw a bare leg with uncommon grace, and the feathering of the wings less like a buzzard's and more like an eagle's. It is easy to distinguish three hands in the miniatures, but harder to single them out. To Emeterius must be assigned, amongst others, the five scenes just enumerated; and to what seems a clumsier hand copying his new style, but may be indeed only his own experimental work, such pages as the Merchants and the Kings, the Fire and Voices, the Sun and Moon Darkened; and, lastly, there is the very beautiful art exemplified in St. John and the Angel under two trees (Pl. III, 2), the Twelve Apostles, Measuring the Temple, Christ among the Candle-sticks, and (Figs. 18 and 12) the Door opened in Heaven and the Church of Sardis. It would be impossible to say without examining the colours and other indications in the actual manuscript again, whether this is the work of the person charged with the decorative figures and initials. Nor shall we ever know whether it was the priest Senior, or the woman who was reckoned as God's assistant.

Bryn Mawr,
St. Toribio's Day, 1929

MANUSCRIPTS OF BEATUS

	CENTURY	DATE	NAME	PRESENT PLACE	INFORMATION	SIGNED
1.	X	—	Escorial (Cod. II & 5)	Escorial	from San Millán	
2.	X	926	Ashburnham–Morgan (MS. 644)	New York, Morgan Library	copied for Abbot Victor, monastery of San Miguel	Maius
(3.)	X	c. 940	Cardeña	lost	copied for Abbot Cyprian	
(4.)	X	before 959	Guimarães	lost	given by Muniadona	
5.	X	968–970	Tábara (Vitr. 14)	Madrid, Archivo Hist. Nac.	once at Liébana?	Maius and Emeterius
6.	X	—	Albino (Emil. 33)	Madrid, Acad. Hist.	Flórez used: from San Millán	
7.	X	970	Valcavado	Valladolid, Bibl. Prov. Univ.	Morales saw in León: copied for Abbot Sempronius	Juan and Oveco
8.	X	—	No. 11 (H. h. 58)	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	first appearance, Exhibition of 1924	
9.	X	975	Gerona	Gerona, Cathedral Archives	copied for Abbot Dominic	Emeterius, Ende, and Senior
10.	X	—	Facundo's source	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	five leaves only: bound up with Facundo	(only ornament)
11.	X	—	Cirueña	Silos	from Nájera	(one small picture)
12.	X	—	Nájera	Silos	three leaves only	(no pictures)
13.	XI	c. 1040	Urgel	La Seo de Urgel	Villanueva saw: Pujol dated	
14.	XI	1047	Facundo (B. 31)	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	Morales saw in León	Facundo
15.	XI	1047–72	St.-Sever (Lat. 8878)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	copied for Abbot Gregory Muntaner	Stephanus Garsea
16.	XI	1056	Osma	Burgo de Osma	copied at Carracedo?	Peter, clerk; Martin, sinner
(17.)	XI	1099	Eslonza	lost	given by Doña Urraca	
18.	XII	1073 / 1109	Silos (Add. 11695)	London, Brit. Mus.	copied for Abbot Fortunius	Prior Peter

19.	XII	—	Berlin (Theol. lat. fol. 561)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	(Italian source?)	
20.	XII	—	Corsini	Rome, Corsiniana		
21.	XII	—	Turin	Turin, Bibl. Univ.–Naz.	not burned as alleged	
(22.)	XII	—	San Bartolomé,	lost	Flórez saw at Salamanca	
23.	XII	—	King's (Cod. 2. B. 3)	Madrid	from College of Cuenca, Salamanca	(no pictures)
24.	XII	—	Rylands (Lat. 8)	Manchester	sold with library of Marquis of Astorga	
25.	XII	1183	Lorvão (Cod. 1)	Lisbon, Torre do Tombo	from convent of Lorvão	Egas
(26.)	XII	—	La Espina	lost	Morales saw	
27.	XII	—	Romanesque (N. A. Lat. 1366)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	once at Roncesvalles	
28.	XII	—	Museo Arqueológico	Madrid, Mus. Arq.	from S. Pedro de Cardeña	
29.	XIII	—	San Andrés (N. A. Lat. 2290)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Flórez used: copied at Toledo?	
30.	XIII	1220	*Burgensis* (Ms. 429)	New York, Morgan Library	Flórez used: from Las Huelgas	
31.	XV?	—	Aniago (Cod. I. f. 7)	Escorial		(no pictures)
32.	XVI	1552	Vatican (Vat. Lat. 7621)	Rome	nothing known	(no pictures)
*33.	—	—	Celanova	?	fragment: seen by Morales	
34.	—	—	Oviedo	perhaps Escorial	seen by Morales	
35.	—	—	Escorial	?	three were reported	
36.	—	—	Guadalupe	?	cited by Morales	
37.	—	—	Toledo	?	seen by Morales	
38.	—	—	Cardinal of Aragón	?	cited by Antonio	

* About these six nothing more is known.

NOTE ON PLATES I TO VI

The late laureate, in the prelude to his anthology of *The Spirit of Man*, invited the reader to bathe rather than to fish in those waters, and for that reason allowed no titles nor names of authors in the text, "because they would distract the attention and lead away the thought and even overrule consideration"; so I have hoped also, in comparing characteristic details from the Beatus MSS. with other art usually Oriental, by omitting bibliography to elude pedantry and try to see the things in themselves as they really are. Pedantry is too often the working partner of prejudice. For the convenience of scholars, however, I append here the sources from which the drawings have been taken — for their convenience and as a guarantee of intellectual good faith and sobriety.

Plate I, **Oriental traits.** 1, Chinese stone Buddha, Louvre (cf. G. Migeon, *L'Art Chinois*, pl. 17). 2, S. Matthew in the Tetramorph, Beatus of the Academia de la Historia, from S. Millán. 3, Scarlet Woman, Valcavado Beatus. 4, Persian Princess, XV century, from a painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 5, 6, Nahum and Micah, *Hispalensis* (cf. *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pl. 126). 7, 8, Beatus of the Escorial from S. Millán.

Plate II, **Profiles.** 1, *Emilianensis*, Councils Codex. 2, *Burgensis*. 3, From a MS. of Galen, Mesopotamian, mid XIII century (cf. Kuhnel, *op. cit.* pl. 3, and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 503). **Designs.** 4, 5, Palmettes from Lorvão Beatus and *Hispalensis*. 6, Lorvão Beatus. Border, French Cistercian (cf. Oursel, *op. cit.*, pl. 22).

Plate III, **Flora.** 1, 2, 4, Gerona Beatus. 3, 5, S. Andrés de Arroyo. 6, Rylands. 7, *Burgensis*. 8, 9, Galen MS. (cf. Diez, *op. et loc. cit.*; Kuhnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 8; Arnold, *op. cit.*), Mesopotamian, mid XIII century.

Plate IV, **Fauna.** 1, Horse, Beatus of Urgel. 2, Valcavado Beatus. 3, Marble, Louvre, Mesopotamian X–XII century (cf. Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, pl. 1, no. 2). 13, Terracotta, Louvre, Persian XI–XII century (cf. Migeon, *op. cit.*, other volume, pl. 10, no. 22). 5, Visigothic fibula out of a recommended manual of sorts. 7, Florencio (A.D. 945) in *Morals of Gregory*. 6, Racing Whippet, VII century (cf. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, V., pl. 37). 18, Detail from dress of Chosroes II, Tak-i-Bostan, VII century (cf., E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pl. 62). 16, Half of marble slab, Seljuk art of XII century, in Museum of Constantinople (from photograph). 17. Gerona Beatus (A.D. 975). 14, Facundo's Beatus. 15, Beatus of Burgo de Osma. 4, 11, 12, Plaque of Chosroes hunting, probably Bactrian copy (cf. Diez, *op. cit.* 432). 8, 9, Rylands. 10, *Burgensis*.

Plate V, **Locusts.** 1, Apocalypse of S. Sever. 2, Beatus of Roncesvalles. 3, S. Andrés de Arroyo. **Riders.** 4, Rhages cup, Louvre (cf. Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, pl. 28, no. 119). 5, Ivory box, Louvre (cf. Migeon, *op. cit.* pl. 9, no. 29), museum label says Mesopotamian, XIII century. 6, Gerona Beatus. 7, S. Andrés de Arroyo.

Plate VI, **Lovers.** The later Persian copy of the traditional theme, out of a *Shahnamah* painted by Afzal-el-Hussaini, XVII century (cf. Diez, *op. cit.* pl. 576), is from a photograph by Dr. Diez. The Silos work is not later than the first decade of the XII century. See note in text.

3

1

2

6

4

5

7

8

Buddhist features: 1. Chinese 2. Beatus Xc. —— Buddhist Postures: 5. Spanish (Hispalense) IXc. 3. Beatus Xc. 4. Persian XVc. —— Arab type: 6. Spanish (Hispalense) IXc. —— Seated posture: 7. 8. Beatus IXc.

Border French Cistercian XIIc. — 6. Beatus (Spanish Cistercian) XIIc. — 5. Hispalense (Mozarabic) IXc. 4. Beatus (Mozarabic) XIIc. — 3. Mesopotamian XIIIc. 2. Beatus XIII c. 1. Spanish (Emilianense) Xc.

1

2

3

4

5

6

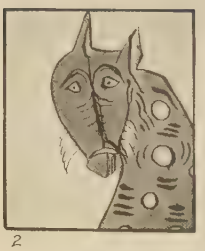
7

8

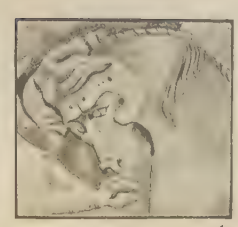
9

Trees 1. 2. 4. Beatus Xc. 3. Beatus XIIIc —— 8. 9. Mesopotamian XIIIc. 5. 7. Beatus XIIIc. 6. Beatus XIIc.

1


2

3


4

5

6

7

10

8

9

11

12

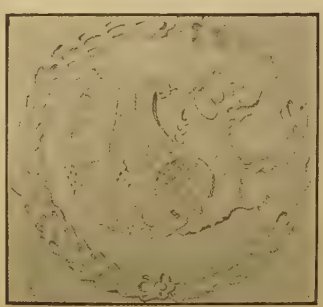
13

14

15

16

17


18

Beasts 3.(marble) 13.(terracotta) Mesopotamian X–XII c. 1. 2. Beatus XI c —— 4. 11. 12. (silver) Sassanid model VII c. —— 8. 9. Beatus XII c. 10. Beatus XII c. —— 5. Visigothic fibula 7. Spanish MS. X c. 6. Anglo Saxon MS. VIII c —— 18. (stone) Sassanid VII c. 16. (marble) Turkish XII c. 17 Beatus X c. 14. 15 Beatus XI c.

1

4

5

2

6

3

7

Locusts: Beatus 1. XIc. 2. XII-XIII c. 3. XIII c. —— Riders: 4. Persian (Rhages cup) XIII c.
5. Arab (ivory box) Xc. 6. Beatus Xc. 7. Beatus XIII c.

1

2

Lovers: 1. In Hell (from Silos Beatus)
2. In Romance (from Shahnamah)